THE SOLDIER EMPERORS

FRANZ ALTHEIM

BERSERKER
BOOKS

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Foreword: A people lives happily in the present and future as long as it is aware of its past and the of its ancestors, Heinrich Himmler
Reichsfu; hrer

The journeys on which this book is based extended to the Scandinavian north on the one hand, and the Balkans, the Near and Middle East on the other. They were made possible by from the Prussian Minister President and Field Marshal H. Go; ring and the Reichsfuehrer H. Himmler. We are particularly to the research and teaching community "Das Ahnenerbe", its curator Professor W. Wu; st and its Reichsgescha; ftsfu; hrer Sturmbannfu; hrer W. Sievers. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank the sponsors.
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No continuous documentation has been included in the notes. The references to ancient or modern literature are limited to special features. Unless otherwise noted, the photographs are by E. Trautmann. The contributions from the same source, which have flowed into the book in large numbers, have not been marked at the wish of the author.

F, Altheim. E, Trautmann. 5

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORY AS UNIVERSAL HISTORY

History speaks more clearly to us today than it to the recent past. The awareness that we are standing at a milestone in Europe's development makes us more sensitive to times and peoples who faced with similar decisions. The need for historical accounts has grown astonishingly. People turn to the works of the great historiography

back; her classics have not been read so avidly for a long time.

1.

Of the various schools of historical scholarship, the "critical school" still has the best chance of being considered authoritative today. Admittedly, this means that it is by no means alone, and indeed since its emergence it has been joined by other and even opposing schools. But none can claim the same and equally lasting success as critical historical research. We Germans, who its founder Niebuhr among our own, can back with pride on the more than hundred-year history of this research.

Far be it from us to the significance of the critical view. What should be emphasized is only this: the critical principle as such can never provide the basis for a historical science. One should also be clear about the fact that the progress of critical research had to be bought - bought by disadvantages whose existence was conditioned by this progress.

By its very nature, critical research is restrictive and limiting. From the mass of source testimonies, it seeks the most

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to be . The emphasis is thus placed on the methodical preparation of these testimonies. The historical presentation, in general the overall view ; it appears as a goal in the distant future, once critical has been completed to the satisfaction of those who have to decide on it,

should be finished. Inevitably, the historian's work becomes more philological than actually historical.

What is even more serious is that this attitude has developed into a specialization of ever greater proportions. It already consciously presents itself as such and wants to discover in specialization the meaning not only of its own activities, but of research in general.

Such specialization has always meant the end, indeed the death of every living development. In the spiritual world this law applies with the same consistency as in the natural-organic world. Just as, for example, the extinction of primitive animal species was caused by speci;cization - on the one hand, by the finest adaptation to certain conditions and, on the other, by an all too limited breadth of developmental possibilities in the face new, hitherto unprecedented situations - so the future of historical science depends on whether it is able to this impending fate. On whether it will succeed in leaving behind the norms of traditional research, which are certainly tried and tested

but have become rigid as a result, in overcoming the narrowness of specialist scholarship and thinking in broad terms, in terms of great .
The history of a people of the magnitude of the Roman Empire demands that ideas must, if necessary, be "invented". The task of the historian is to observe the organic growth of this idea and to allow it to resurrect in an equally organic determined by an idea, the historical representation. If anywhere, he may here invoke his birthright to be a creative artist. But such shaping is always that of a totality: a

comprehensive and inseparable whole. Scientific specialty
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Research is certainly an aid, but in itself it is as little the task of the historian as science is related to specialization
2.
A different conception of history is contained in a second conception that came into being at the same time as that of the critical school, which is also of German origin - we mean the conception of classical antiquity studies. If the critical school meant narrowing, selection, specialization, the latter showed a desire for a comprehensive overview. And if, in the one case, history threatened to degenerate into philological formalism, the representatives of classical antiquity studies were not with a purely philological approach. The entire formative forms of antiquity, indeed its entire life expressions, were to be grasped and viewed in their context.
In terms of its origins, this attitude cannot be separated from the Romantic movement and the beginning of the age of the nation state. The awakening national spirit understood itself and all its expressions in the past and present as a unique whole and was accordingly prepared to give to others what it recognized and demanded for itself. It is all the more urgent to emphasize such a historical context of the idea of a science of antiquity because, once seen, it also teaches us that what was suitable for a past time no longer necessarily has to be so for the present.

It is true that this ancient science was allowed to believe that it was looking at a whole that had grown organically, in contrast to what the critical direction was striving for. But when it is emphasized that the modified Einsteinianism arose from the idea of the nation-state, it must be said that its position today is different from when it into being. If it once meant a solution out of the national and supra-temporal interdependencies and it to its own xmd and, as it were, domestic sphere
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, today the national can no longer exist in such isolation and voluntary restriction. It has become expansive in its very essence. In an age that must inevitably consider the whole of the earth, it has to prove itself and assert itself in constantly renewed competition. If politics, economics, technology - if they all think in such broad terms today, then historiography must no longer close its mind to this.

We therefore believe that even the concept of a science of antiquity is not comprehensive, not enough. Historical thinking today is only as universal historical thinking; historical questions only touch us when they are seen from a universal historical perspective. Only those who look at the whole are able to grasp the particularity - and especially the national particularity - of the parts.
We demand that each individual history of a people be treated from the perspective of the whole of history. We must get used to thinking not in terms of a culture, but in terms of cultures, empires and great empires. Only those who know the desert and the puszta, who

If you are familiar with nomadic life and shamanism, you can gain the right perspective on the urban culture of the Mediterranean region. In the same way, one must have absorbed the thought patterns of the ancient Mediterranean world in order to do justice to the uniqueness of the Nordic world or classical antiquity.
We should now recall a presupposition which, however self-evident it may , is easily disregarded in an age not only of book writing but also of book experience. What is meant is the Herodotean requirement that the historian should take into account the cultures, countries and , which him concern him, through own get to know should. That the demand sometimes must sometimes remain a fundamental one. But this must not prevent it from at least being recognized as such in all seriousness and raised anew in each individual case. 12
3.
The century of the soldier emperors, from the end of Commodus to the beginning of Diocletian's reign, forms the subject of the following pages. It is neither a of the course of history nor a description of all forms of life in an epoch. Extensive areas - the entire literary life, economy and administration - are left aside, touched upon at best. The focus is solely on the : capturing the forces that made this century a historical turning point. We seek to present them.
The history of this period, too, was once treated as imperial history. The events, especially the external and warlike entanglements, were summarized under the reigns of the individual rulers as if under chapter headings. The ju; nst

The past, on the other hand, has undergone a change of front. It was based on internal history. The key was believed to have been found in the economic and political contrast between town and country, citizen and peasant. Since the army was no longer recruited from the urban population but the countryside, the contrast was repeated on another level. The new peasant army and the emperors elected by it had taken up the cause of the country and thus about the decline of urban culture and the end of ancient culture as such.
We do not believe that a class struggle made the period what it was. There is no doubt that a social transformation took place, but it was not primary moment; nor did it determine the nature and composition of the army. U@ n general, the real moments of history can only be recognized secondarily from

the internal development alone: Ranke's doctrine of the primacy of foreign policy still rightly exists. It also proves itself in our case. Peoples who were still historically , in some cases barely , were knocking at the gates of the Roman Empire. And on its own soil
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other tribes and races, whose untapped power was ready to replace the dwindling Italian nation in the leadership of the empire.
These are the driving forces that we today regard as the moving ones. In the third century A.D., their sphere of influence is even more extensive than usual: it provides the school example for a consideration of tribal and national individualities. Among the many to be mentioned here

The first place is occupied by the Lyrians and Syrians. Here Orientals, there a Nordic Indo-European tribe, behind which the Germanic tribes rise as heirs. Both groups fought against each other for power in the empire, but at the same time they struggled for the spiritual content of Rome. And here it becomes clear that spiritual acquisition is not free, but to the prerequisites of nationality. This fact decides against the Syrians: it opens the way for the Illyrians to rise.
By daring attempt to see the forces that shaped the era of the soldier emperors in the historical self-emergence of a new nationality, the universal attitude gains its last and perhaps possibility. The emergence of the new national individualities, their confrontation on the soil of the Empire, the emergence of a new order based on them, which may already be described as medieval - all of this only be bridged from a comprehensive perspective. The universal historical orientation opens the way to the consideration of the individual nations according to their historical and national uniqueness.
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FIRST CHAPTER THE
SASANIDS 1.
After the death of Alexander the Ro; mer, Iran was ruled by two hundred and forty kings. Their chief was Ardewan, king of the Parthians; Persis, Isfahan and the neighboring regions were in his hands. He sent to his court Ardezhir, the son of Sasan, from the lineage of the ancient Persian , the Achaimenids. Ardeschir grew there in chivalrous breeding and surroundings. One day, the girl who held King Ardewan in greater honor than the others betrayed him.

Ma; dchen of his court, a secret she knew about. The astrologers, she said, prophesied to her master that a new king would appear. He would kill many rulers and unite the world again in one kingdom. And this, too: that every servant who escapes from his master in the three days attain greatness and rulership and win victory over his former master. Both the girl and Ardeschir decided to act accordingly. They escaped on the king's best horses and took his Indian sword, a crown and many of his precious stones with them.
Ardewan pursued the with his men. He would have to catch them in three days, the chief of the astrologers told him, but he would not succeed . People

who met the king said that the two riders had over in the morning, fast as the wind, and a very fat ram had followed them. Ardewan hurried on. People met him again; they told him the same thing. The king asked the chief of the magicians what such news , and he received an answer:
"The ram is the splendor of the king's rule; it has not yet reached Ardeshir. We must endeavor to get hold of him first."
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Ardewan hurried on quickly. The day he met a caravan. "We have noticed," these people said to the king, "that a very large and powerful ram was sitting on horseback with one of those riders." Again Ardewan asked the chief of his magicians, and he replied to the : "You, sir, may be immortal. But the splendor of royal rule has reached the Ardeschir; there is no way you can get hold of him anymore

will be. Therefore do not trouble and the riders, nor continue to trouble the horses so that they perish. Look for a remedy against Ardeschir in another way."
The king sent an army against him. Ardezhir also went into battle with his men. For four months there was great fighting and killing every day. But since the splendor of royal rule was with Ardezhir, he won the victory, killed Ardewan, and all his property came into Ardezhir's hands. He took Ardewan's daughter as his wife.
This is the legendary account given by a Middle Persian book, long after the events themselves, of the transformation of the third century AD. It seems to say only that one dynasty replaced the other. The last Arsacid was replaced by Ardezhir. With him came Sasan's dynasty; it was to remain in possession of the throne for over four hundred years. But the Umwa; lzimg means more, far more, and our report in particular this to emerge.
At that time, Iran underwent a major upheaval that brought it back to its own past and thus to its own self. The Achaemenid empire and the religion of Zarathustra, the most powerful sho; pings in Iranian history, were taken up . What had emerged in them now stood as a binding norm the state formations of the Parthian invaders and the , half-Hellenistic mixed culture that had developed among them.
Ardeschir's uprising thus signifies the rejection of Alexander's great work. But the historical scope of the event is not limited to Iran: it extends to Rome; it also reaches into the future. The new empire of the Sasanids
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Fig. 2: Touton stone, Miltenberg a. M. (p. 66).
Fig. 3 Toutonenstein, Miltenberg a. M. Partial photograph (p. 66).

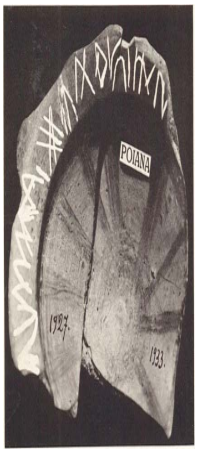

Fig. 4 Bowl with Gothic runic inscription. Poiana near Tee Moldau (p. 81; 248).

is in part an expression of what the history of a people and a culture means, and in this respect it has a national character. But like everything national, if it is grasped in sufficient depth, it points itself. As

"empire" with a universal claim, it stands alongside the Imperium Romanum. And it goes one step further by being the first universal empire to bear typical medieval attributes.

All this emerges from the legendary account we gave at the beginning. The rise of the Sasanians may have been described elsewhere more in terms of contexts and causes, with less emphasis on the miraculous; nevertheless, the subsequent period must have found something in this 'RomaTi' of Ardeschir that captivated them: a reality that appealed to them. Otherwise it would hardly have been included in the Persian King's Book, that extensive compilation of the native U@ tradition, which was written down shortly before the fall of the Sasanian Empire and has endured as a national memory. Legend has always meant the form in which the Iranian^) history. Moreover, this report, as little as it history, is more valuable in one respect than if it been limited to the historical: it is the myth of the founder of the empire and the founding the empire that is here.

History in the narrowest sense focuses on events, i.e. on the temporal course; myth is timeless and towards essence. When myth , it does so neither for the sake of narrating, nor in order to for the truth in the course of the narrative. Rather, narrative here is merely: form once chosen,

a more or less accurate expression of what is behind it and what is actually meant.

But what was meant? Much of what is said is only loosely connected with the particular event and the unique person of Ardeshir. It occurs wherever there talk of glu; cious action and success. That women and that Fortuna, who to the

same sex, offer themselves to the hero; that everything and everyone turns out well for him when the ^) E. Herzfeld. Archaeological history of Iran 17 f.

Hour has come; that the hero seizes such an hour without hesitation, and that being ready is everything - this and similar things tend to recur everywhere in such stories. In addition, there is something else that is only valid for Iran and only for the Sasanians. For a high chivalric style intertwines here in such a unique way with a strictly legitimist and at the same time universal attitude, and both are overlaid by a commitment to Zarathustrian that it could only have presented itself in this way at that time. To attempt a dissolution of the artful fabric does not in any way mean to it; it is precisely in such an attempt that its foundation and its unity will emerge.

2.

When the Parthian king the young Ardeschir to come to his court, he is told to stay with the so; hnen of the knights. He goes hunting with Ardewan and his horsemen. He sits in the ko; nigh stable and plays the kettledrum, sings and amuses himself in his own way; there, with the horses, the 's maiden discovers him and strikes up a friendship with him. And on horseback, the contest between Ardewan and the king takes place again.

Ardeschir, with the splendor of royal rule sitting in the saddle by his gu; nstling's side.

U@ everywhere one trifit on horse and rider. It is the way of life that is peculiar to the Parthian royal court: the young Persian, who was one day to overthrow Ardewan, up in this form himself. It had been given to the Parthians since their and it is the new thing they introduced into Iranian history.

The country of Iran is not a unified cultural area. Its development takes place from two poles. One is in the , in Mesopotamia^), which is connected to the Mediterranean regions and can receive its influences from there. The opposite pole the Turanian countries of the northeast.

1) U@ on the age of these influences E. Herzfeld, a. 0. If. 18

These two poles simultaneously signify the contrast between fertile land and steppe, between agriculture and hunting, between sedentariness and nomadic life, between urban culture and the roaming of raiding hordes. While the Achaimenids, Alexander and his successors had this in common, despite all their differences, that they came from the Southwest, the appearance of the Parthians meant the pendulum swinging to the opposite side.

The Parthians, a Scythian tribe, had invaded Iran proper from the steppes of Turan across the protective peripheral mountains. Once dwelling on the Ochos, east of the Herirud, they had possession of the satrapy of Parthia and received from it the name under which they appear in history. They carried the characteristics of their origins for a long time and were never able to deny them.

If the sedentary farmer and follower of the Zarathustrian doctrine recognizes in the ox the animal that is the expression and enjoyment of his existence, then the same means the horse for the nomad. The nomad is the wanderer and the , the man of force and master, who roams vast lands and regards them as the

prey offered to him: he is the hero who has set his existence on battle. The means of leading this life, of traversing these vast expanses, and at the same time the expression of his masterly existence, is the horse. Thus the nomads are representatives of an unbound, and knightly way of life. This is particularly evident among the Parthians.
On foot they were defenceless. Their garments, which reached down to their , prevented them from walking, fighting or fleeing; they were easily captured or cut down. They only found themselves in the saddle. "They are always on horseback, on it they go to war, they ride to their estates, they carry out their public and private duties. On horseback they walk and stand, they trade and confer with each other. And finally, servants and masters are distinguished by the fact that the one goes on foot, the other always appears on horseback." What about the
Life on horseback' is illustrated by this description of an ancient geography.
2"
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schiclitssclireibers. It also expresses the nobleman's sense of chivalry.
It is only a step from the lifestyle of the aristocrat to that of the ruler. Darius called Persis "a land of good steeds"; in neighboring Media stretched the Nisa; isian region, the home of a famous race, the

Pasture for herds of horses. According to the Herodotean story, Darius himself owed his throne to the neighing of his horse. And yet, among the Achaemenids, the role of the rider and his animal was so insignificant! According to Assyrian-Babylonian custom, the appears on seal cylinders on a chariot. Otherwise, the ancient Persian reefs show him on the throne, under the umbrella, in battle with the lion or dragon, standing before the altar of fire or before Ahuramazda - but always on foot. And on foot he appears on the gold coins, Darius appears on the great rocky reef of Bisutun, in the shadow of his triumph over the kings of Lu; gen. Finally, the troops of the bodyguard march along on foot, on the friezes of the palaces of PersepoUs and Susa.
The Sasanian rock carvings bear witness to how this world of imagination has changed. When paying homage or accompanied by paladins, in scenes of subjugation, Ormuzd bestows the ring of dominion, in knightly duels with the enemy, in heavy armor and on the hunt - the Sasanian great appears everywhere on horseback. Only occasionally does he still appear on foot; the ideas of horse and royal majesty have now become so closely linked.
It was not only the Sasanids who made the break. The Parthian king's reefs already feature the duel on horseback for dominion and the homage scene before the mounted . In addition, the use of the horse in war was inseparably linked with the Parthians in the imagination of antiquity.
The Parthians had retained their native Scythian armament on Iranian soil. The largest part of the army consisted of non-free men, but even these had to ride horses and use archery
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like the free-born members of the people. The wealth of a king was measured by how many horsemen he could add to the king's army in case of war. The Parthians did not value close combat and sieges; their strength lay in the sudden attack on horseback and in the disguised flight, by means of which they tempted the enemy to be careless. Endurance in battle was not their thing and they often broke off the battle at its climax; then, however, they rallied from their flight to put up new resistance, and the decision awaited the supposed victor.

Archers on horseback, fleeting and then bursting forth again, swarming and surprising in attack - at first they can only be imagined as a lightly armed troop. The Parthian appear as such on terracottas and graffiti; in the same form in literature and poetry. But this does not complete the picture^).

The home of the scale and plate armor is to be found among the equestrian peoples of Central Asia. Already in the time of Alexander the Great, it had given a special form. In the Battle of Gaugamela, Bactrian and Scythian troops fought on the left wing of the Persian formation. While the Bactrians were subjects of the Great King, the Scythians were merely allies; the inhabitants of the Turanian steppe had sent an auxiliary force to join the imperial army. They are described as mounted archers, but we also hear that man and horse were shielded by scale armor.

The Parthians preserved this Central Asian heritage. On the mu; nts of the first Arsacids appears an in long armor reaching down to the lower leg; that the armor also extends to the horses

is explicitly stated. Pieces of horse armor have been found in the Parthian border fortress of Dura; they resemble those of Russia, the relatives of the Parthians, Scythians and Sarmatians, used the same type of fighting.

1) On the following see Verf., Weltherrschaft und Krise 198 f.; Welt als Geschichte 3, 335f.; W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic military and naval developments 73f.

The shock lance was added as a distinguishing armament of the heavy troops. It enabled them to the enemy in close combat. Light and heavy cavalrymen complemented each other: once the hail of arrows from the surrounding archers had the enemy's resistance, the frontal attack of the cataphracts began; the thrust of the armored cavalry the ranks of the enemy foot soldiers. This tactic was brought to its peak by the Parthian general from the Suren dynasty, who inflicted a devastating defeat on the legions at Karrhai. His noble lineage and wealth had enabled this man to maintain a corps of a thousand armored cavalry and nine thousand mounted archers from his own resources; these, lightly armed, were recruited from the Suren's own slaves and serfs. A train of a thousand camels accompanied the troops; they carried the , so that the archers would never for shooting.

All these forms of warfare were adopted by the Sasanids. In their armies, the lightly armed appears on horseback with the cataphract at his side. A graphitto from Dura depicts such a cataphract in the flesh before eyes: at gallop

The animal, too, is covered in scale armor, the rider armed a long lance and bow, a heavy, high helmet on his head. And this image is repeated in magnificent form in the equestrian statue of Taki-Bostan, the masterpiece of Sasanian art. Man and horse carry the armor; bow and cu; cher, the heavy visored helmet, round shoe and thrusting lance the armament. The descriptions of the Shahname, the frescoes from Chinese Turkestan repeat and confirm the picture; they show how long this form of armament survived and how far it spread beyond the actual Iranian territory
has. .

Everything that has been mentioned so far: the predominance of the cavalry weapon, the armor of man and horse, the heavy helmet, Tartsche and shock lance - it means an anticipation of the middle class.

old forms. Accordingly, Iranian chivalry as a military institution was accompanied by a developed feudalism as a political one. families with extensive landholdings and a large number of nobles are characteristic of the Parthian state^); they also represent a restriction of royal power in that they have a claim to the highest lands and these often in their hereditary possession. The gu; ter of the Suras were mostly located in the Sakenland, those of the Karen and Mihran in the and northern media. Moreover, it seems that the governorship of Mesopotamia in their hands for a long time; their most famous member, the later victor of Karrhai, had conquered the mighty Greek city of Seleukeia. Alongside the great 'houses' we encounter rulers: local dynasties and city-states

oriental or Greek origin. The Greek subject states were extensive autonomy; they were even allowed to keep their own militia^). Next to them were the of Edessa and Hatra, the lords of Batnai, Singara and others - all more or less loosely dependent on the Parthian great king in Ctesiphon.

The new Sasanian kingship emerged with the claim to eliminate the "partial kings" and to restore all land to the only legitimate family. It is unmistakable that the central power was punished and that it was asserted at least under the fa; hige rulers. The Parthian feudal nobility was countered by a new one that was more closely linked to the Sasanian house. It seems as if they had started from the co; nigh dynasty itself and sought to achieve their goal by creating collateral lines^). But this procedure alone shows that the feudal order was basically preserved. And a large part of the

- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 55.
- F. Cumont, C. R. de VAcad. 1931, 238; 248 (Susa); W.

Dittenberger, OGL 254 (Babylon); M. HoUeaux, B.C.H. 57, 29 note 3; in general see W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 30f.; 42f.

^) This procedure went back via the Parthians to the Greek-Bactrian kings, as W. W. Tarn has shown: l. c. 90.

of the old aristocracy: the houses of the Suras and Karen were also able to maintain their power under the Persian dynasty. With the introduction of a state church, the high clergy became new component. Also

It meant a reinforcement of the feudal order, and all too often the kingdom had to acquiesce to the demands of the zarathustrian clergy.

3.

Here and everywhere the Sasanian world is based on what Parthians created, and not only here. Ardeschir, as his story tells us , made a masterful shot while hunting. He hit a wild ass with his arrow in such a way that it penetrated its body and came out the other side; the animal died on the spot. But Ardewan's son claimed to have made the shot and did not want to give his subordinate his . This led to the first quarrel between Ardezhir and the Parthian king.

Why this and what the shot at the wild ass mean? - First of , it must be said that this animal was a king in many senses. Spread in its varieties over the interior of the Asian continent, it can almost be described as the ruler of the steppe. As such, Sven Hedin has sung its praises. He praises the wild ass's roaring lust for life, its indomitable courage, its boldness and the beauty of its movements. The poetry of the Hebrews is characterized by pride in its unbound life. "Who has let the wild ass go free," says the Lord to Job, "who has the bonds of the fugitive, to whom I have given the entrance to the house and the desert to the dwelling place?

On the reliefs of the Assyrian palaces it appears as a hunting animal and nobly as that of the . The history of the later Sasanids knows of a king who was named after the wild ass, either to characterize his nature because he used a similar animal for hunting.

Master shot done. He had killed the animal, together with the that had at it, with a

shot with a single arrow. In short, the wild ass is the royal game and the ruler's hand and skill are proven in hunting it. This is why the silver jewelry of the Sasanian period in their chased work, the silk fabrics in their patterns show the royal master at work; in addition to the lion and boar, the wild ass is also his prey. When Ardezhir took the liberty of his shot, he did what in him the future ruler of Iran, and not without grimd Ardewan's son to make the deed appear as his own.

The bow and the art of using it are as old as Iran itself. But Ardeschir, Ardewan and their counterparts, created by the Sasanian artisans, all hunted on horseback. And again, the appearance of the horse signifies a change the previous period. For while the gold coins of the Achaimenids show the king on foot, armed with a bow, without any indication of the opponent or any other target, since the Parthian period, the archer and on horseback has been the form under which the ruler is imagined. The art of the Scythians of Siberia and the Su; drussian Sarmatians shows that this form also originated in the Central Asian homeland of the Parthian people. From there it came to Iran: here, as everywhere else, the Parthians the equestrian style, the use of the horse as an expression of noble nobility. They were equally inseparable from

horse and bow and always made use of them, whether for war or hunting. These passionate hunters only enjoyed meat when it had been hunted. Countless are the depictions of

Hunts in Parthian art; no object has fulfilled them like this one.
Once again, the equestrian style is concerned with everything it can get hold of. First appearing in the craft of war and in the wild, and then transferred by the Parthians to the private habits of the noble man, it does not stop at the realm of women. The image of the royal youth Ardeschir and his maiden, as they rush through the countryside on their racers, swift as the wind, is a favorite. Something of the magic of the Persian miniatures is foreshadowed here.
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which were later used to decorate the heroic epics of Firdusi and others. Or one thinks of those co;stly clay figurines that represent the behavior of a related and neighboring world - meaning the China of the Han and Tang, its chivalrous-high culture. There, too, the horse rules in a unique way. And again, the woman is not afraid to show herself in the saddle.
There is a small masterpiece of this genre, a young polo player cavorting with her pony: the animal's movements are far-reaching, but the rider's seat is tight and secure. The model for such behavior is to be found in the place from where the equestrian spirit conquered the Middle Kingdomsimilar to how it reached Iran. Even today's travelers are still aware of the power with which the Mongolian woman knows how to control her horse; they also do not forget the gracefulness of her movement in the saddle and her whole appearance.
Once again, one is suddenly to the equestrian peoples of Central and Northern Asia, from whom the Parthians once broke away. But may all this, in style and

Although the Sasanian period was different from the period that preceded it in one respect: it retained its validity for the duration of Parthian rule and beyond. And such a distinction reaches down to the fundamentals.
It became clear beforehand: Turan and Iran, the land of the Ra; uber and that of the farmers, that of the nomads and that of the permanent settlements, the castles and cities - they were the poles from which the history of the regions between the Tigris and Pamir was determined. The Parthians and their neighbors had broken through the Turanian depression in the northeast, taking possession of Media and all the territory down to Mesopotamia; Iran had bowed to the will of the Turanian conquerors. They had established themselves in the country in their own way: They left and agriculture to their subjects, but they themselves this way of life, if at all, then only hesitantly and incompletely. Just as their comrades, the Tocharians, had subjugated the land of Bactria, but had nonetheless adopted the way of urban life.
26
life and ruled the area from their court camp on the other side of the Oxus, from the edge of the desert, so did the Parthians. In Dara - where the farmland merges into the steppe - the Arsacid kings first had their seat. And when they

moved it to Mesopotamia, they again avoided any fixed location. On the north bank of the Tigris, separated by the wide river from the popular Greek metropolis of Seleukeia, these kings set up camp. Their horsemen and warriors kept themselves separate from that different, static and persistent world.

The Parthians have always preserved a way of life that is reminiscent of the steppe and the life on the move that belongs to it. There, the bond between the people and the land is the weakest imaginable: a coincidence, even a mere whim, can tear it apart. The camp, not the ground, is the home of such an equestrian people. But when the Parthians were overthrown and a new Persian took their place, that other world from which they had hitherto turned their backs rose again.

Persis had also adopted the chivalric style. Darius had already called it a land of good horses in his inscriptions. But is strange that Parthian rule, like that of the Seleucids, never really took root in this area. Hellenistic art was only adopted in an external form^). Native dynastic dynasties , albeit in dependence on the Great King. Ardezhir's ancestors sat in a place south of Lake Bakhta; although "", they were subject to another , who sat in the "white castle" east of Persepolis. Ardeshir's mother came from this same family, and his son was entitled to the position of bailiff and commander of the local army in a neighboring city2). Istachr, the successor to Persepolis, means nothing other than "castle"^). And how people lived in castles and fortified towns, how they lived under

- E. Herzfeld, a. 0. 49.
- On the great landowners and their role in Iran, see W.

W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 32.

- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 45.

was closely related to each other, they clung to the old ways. The rules of the Zarathustrian religion were strictly observed. The cult center was the fire temple of the Anahit in Istachr; Ardeschir's grandfather had been the head of this sanctuary. The coins of the Persian dynasts bore inscriptions in the local dialect, while the Arsacids had long used Greek. Certainly, everything took place in small and minute relationships. But this Persis, on which the great memories hung, where the ruins of the Achaemenid palace stood and the tomb of Cyrus bore witness to the glory of the founder of the empire - it was, as it were, a castle of conquest. And it was a castle in yet another sense.

When the Parthian king Ardewan recited peace to his vassal Ardeshir, he sent him the words: "You have overstepped your bounds and brought about your own fate, O Kurd, who raised in the tents of the Kurds." There are three U@ bel in the world, says an Arabic proverb: the Kurds, the field ma; use and the locusts. "Kurd" means: representative of all that is harmful and all that is uncultured. At the same time, however, this word means that the person addressed lives and lives in the manner of the Kurds. That he is at home in the mountains, in a high and impassable mountain range, where he leads a hard existence. Just as the Kurds have since time immemorial; just as the Persians

had done before Cyrus had brought them to power and wealth, and were doing again before they their empire for the second time. In Ardeschir's characterization as a Kurd, the contrast to the Parthian great king and his opulent court, which had its seat down in the Susiana and in the fertile Blachfeld on the side of the Tigris, opens up.

There is no lack of fertile land in Persis, not even plains. In the area around Pasargadai, it may well be tempting to horses. Nevertheless, this land never an equestrian people, as the steppes of the north-east or the plains of Mesopotamia did. The Persis is almost sealed off from the Tigris and the coastal country by mountain ramparts. Up to eight and nine mountain lines rise one behind the other; in

Terraces rising up to the snowy heights block access. Sometimes this labyrinth opens up into small valleys and plains, but they are surrounded by such mighty mountains that the villages only see the sun in the morning and are shaded during day. Since ancient times, the "highway" ran through here, but if the Achaemenid Great King, coming up from Susa, wanted to use it to visit his Persian homeland, he had to pay tribute to the mountain tribes. And only by circumventing them had Alexander once able to take the pass; at Gaugamela, in wide and open country, just victorious in a great equestrian battle, he had to submit to the laws of mountain warfare.

Persis was a real castle. Its inhabitants were not only attached to the U@ tradition, but also to the soil - whether it was the mountains or the small plains and drifts that space for the cities and food for the people. It is no coincidence that it was from this corner of Iran that the uprising against the agreements of the former nomads took place. With the Sasanids, the farmer, the inhabitant of the , the nobleman on his tower and, in general, the sedentary man raised his head again. And this is also not without that

Ardeschir was a founder of a city; no less than eight strong cities be traced back to him.

Who not have been reminded of another legend by Ardeschir's escape from the king's court - also an escape of a similar kind? When Walthari and Hilda escape from the court of Etzel, they hurry, like the Persian prince and his , towards a "homeland". They do not flee into the distance and into the boundless, as it would seem to the steppe dweller. Rather, they hurry towards that piece land where they are at home and into whose soil the roots of their existence have sunk deep. These are kind of people who leave the Hun king or the Parthian court to find their native land and themselves in it again.

4.

It is customary to attribute equality in religious matters to the equestrian peoples of Asia. At least the Parthians subscribed to this view: they only followers of Zarathustra , and even then they did not distinguish themselves through zeal. Their kings initially allowed themselves be burned, not

abandoned, contrary to the Zarathustrian commandment^). The Parthian Dura shows no sanctuary of Zarathustrian deities. What the original religion of the people was can only be assumed; no certain knowledge has survived. The origin and origins of the people also point the way here. Just as the Parthians came from the steppes of the north and north-east, they will also have cultivated the forms of the faith that had been indigenous there from time immemorial.

This belief is usually named after the shaman. But where were forms and ideas of a shamanistic nature to be found among the Parthians? Perhaps

They have not been paid enough attention to, because they undoubtedly exist. According to an ancient historian, the Parthians gave the signal for battle not with the tuba but with the tympanum. When the second day of the battle at Karrhai dawned, the Parthian army's shrill cries and war cries resounded at dawn, mingled with the muffled drone of the kettledrums. And while the disheartened army of Romans listened to these unfamiliar sounds, the bows were already approaching, the sound of the sinews, the to; ning whizz of the arrows could be heard . . . But the instrument also appears during the feast. When Caracalla celebrated his pretended marriage to the daughter of the Parthian king, the tympanum was heard alongside the flutes and pipes. And the Parthians indulged in dancing, as they always did when they were full of wine.

The hand drum is originally the shaman's . He uses it during his , enchantments and enthrallments. The spirits he vanquishes, 1) E. Herzfeld, l. O. 38.

he gathers in the hollow of his drum, which he has decorated with the image of a circular world divided into four sectors^). And with the same , which he knows how to rest in alternating short, powerful strokes and long drawn-out whirls, he puts himself in that state of intoxication that him to penetrate to the highest of the heavens.

This tympanum always appears when the powers of enchantment, rapture and ecstatic frenzy unfold. It is used in the service of Cybele and wherever orgiastic cults take hold of people; in its last, form it is found as a tambourine in the hands of women, where it is still a tool of intoxication

and enchantment. When the China of the Tsin and early Han adopted the North Asian way of fighting, the protection of the boss and the equestrian gentleman's life, the hand drum also came into use as a martial instrument. We discover it in the hands of the to; nern equestrian figures created by the funerary art of the time.

These horsemen were enchanted, , possessed when charged. In such a state, they threw themselves at the enemy, turned to flee in disguise, charged forward again, surrounded and harassed him until they had hunted him to death like a wild animal. When the actor at the Parthian court, raising the head of the Crassus, burst into the words of the "Bacchae" :

We bring home from the mountain the beautiful prey, the bleeding game -

there he embraced with a Euripidean verse the two ideas that were characteristic of Parthian fighting: the killing of the hunted animal and the Bacchic obsession of the one who hunts and . The Parthians have also preserved the reUgio; sen forms of their homeland. In addition to the remnants of a shamanistic faith, there is another peculiarity of North Asian peoples: thinking and living in the animal, being moved by it. It received its artistic expression in the "animal style"; even in later times, with the Parthians 0 A. Alfo; ldi, La royaute double des Turcs (2e congr, Tu; re d'hisU 1937) 13.
31

Mesopotamia, it is recognizable in traces. The ancestral religion of Iran, on the other hand, first appropriated by these Parthians, and the followers of Zarathustra

have felt at odds with the Turanian invaders until the very end.
The situation is different with the new master race, the Persians, and the royal dynasty through which they have risen. In the history of Ardezhir, the "splendor of the royal majesty" appears as the decisive power. This divine entity, which referred to as Chvarna in the holy scriptures of the Iranians, bestows success on the hero. Accordingly, the coins of the Greek-Bactrian ko; nige depict this Chvarna under the figure of Tyche; in the Middle Persian script it is represented by an arama; ic ideogram, which means nothing other than "Glu; ck".
If Chvarna appears as a ram that follows Ardeschir and catches up with him, this has its in Greek mythology. For it was a ram whose possession secured the reign of the king in Pelops' succession. Hermes had given the animal to Atreus; its fleece and wool were of a golden color. Gold and celestial splendor are also inherent to Chvarna. For its name is linguistically related to that of the sun. And fiery gold, coming down from heaven, plays the role elsewhere that is otherwise assigned to Chvarna: in that in the Scythian legend the two older brothers of the royal family try in vain to get hold of the metal, but the youngest seizes it without hesitation or harm, he proves himself to be the divinely ordained ruler.
He who can grasp the heavenly splendor of Chvarna, or to whom it is added, is called to kingship. This is the meaning of the Scythian legend and that of Ardeschir. Only a ruler of Iranian blood possesses such splendor, and that is why he is called the
"Iranian" or - which amounts to the same thing here - "Iranian".

the "Aryan". Conversely, in the legend the Turanian hero Frahrasyan tries in vain: he does not succeed in seizing the "Chvarna of the Iranian ". In such exclusive possession lies Iran and Aryanism the divine
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Abb. 6. Sarmatischer Kataphrakt. Trajanssäule, Rom (S. 93).

Abb. 7. Gefangener Markomane. Thermenmuseum, Rom (S. 77f.).

o

the intended destiny to rule. Ardeschir, who descended from the Achaimenids^), is joined by Aries. For this house, like no other, had emphasized its pure descent: Darius called himself an Aryan of Aryan seed. Conversely, the Parthian Ardewan, like all the kings of his tribe, must remain a mere primordial Turpator; he must not hope to rise up against the new of Chvarna.

The circle of imagination unfolded to us had penetrated the Zarathustrian system from an older faith. But for Ardeshir's time it had long since become an integral part of this system. Chvarna shares with Ormuzd the role of a royal tutelary deity. The first Sasanids have been depicted riding towards Ormuzd: the god presents his earthly counterpart with the ring of dominion.

The novel of Ardezhir has its hero create the sacred Bahram fire in many places^). It is one of the five forms in which the element of fire, which is conceived as the son of the supreme god Ormuzd, is able to reveal itself. It is called by a name that once meant "dragon to; ter" or "enemy to; ter" and the Vedic myth belonged to Indra, but now denotes the "victor" or "victory" in general. The connection of this fire with the splendor of the royal power lies in the fact that the Chvarna Ardeschir has brought victory; it lies at the same time in its fiery essence itself. That is why the victor Ardeshir allows the sacred flame to share in his successes. When he moved to the east, to Merw, Balch and the of Khorasan, he killed many men and sent their heads to the fire temple of Anahit, which stood in Istachr, in the heart of the Persian land.

Such worship of fire was ancient custom for Ardeschir and more: it was heritage and obligation. One of his ancestors had been the ruler of that temple. On the coins that the princes of Persis had struck in Seleucid times,
^) U@ on the factuality of such descent see E. Herzfeld, l. c. O. 47; 76 f. 2) Shapur I also did the same, after his victory over Valerian; see W. B.
Henning, Bull. School Orient. Stud. 9, 846 (new inscription from the Kaaba of the
Zarathustra, Naksh-i-Rustam). 3
33

the sanctuary of fire appears, with the royal standard at its side and the ruler in a worshipful posture. Ardeshir himself and those who followed him on the throne make the altar of fire appear on their ; they place in it as great kings continue the conquest of their homeland.
This preservation of an inherited cult is complemented by an act of renewal. The restoration of the sacred scriptures of the Zarathustrians, the creation of a sacred canon is the religious feat of the first Sasanians.
The fate of these writings, which are called Awesta in Middle Persian, has varied. , according to later legend, they were recorded in golden ink on and kept in the Achaemenid archives in Persepolis. Alexander, the destroyer of ancient Persian power and glory, had this oldest Awesta burned. A Parthian king had ordered the first collection of the remaining remains. Ardeschir completed this collection so that it was "a

faithful image of the original light". He ordered the original to be deposited in the royal treasury, another version to be placed in the archives and still others to be distributed throughout the country.
The collection of the Awesta is inconceivable without the strong involvement of the priesthood^). A name from their circle is mentioned as the author of the redaction^). Or it is said that Ardeschir appointed forty thousand magicians for his undertaking, then from their number first forty, then seven. These magicians or mobeds were judges and holders of spiritual power: each presided over his own district, and over them all, like the king of , a "mobed of mobeds" was appointed. A pronounced hierarchy, aside from the political order, becomes visible here. And this clergy, as and as any other, was second to none in intolerance.

• S. H. Nyberg (Die Religionen des alten Iran, u; bers, by H. H. Schaeder 414f.) wants to place the recording of the Awesta u; berhaupt under Shapur II; before that only oral tradition had existed. The question cannot be discussed here.

• U@ ber Tansar now Nyberg-Schaeder, l. c. O. 417f.; allusions based on new finds in E. Herzfeld, l.c. O. 100 f.

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Ardeshir gave the collection created under him canonical status. He had all Avestan writings that were not included banned. Under Ardeshir's successor, a separate court was created decide disputes concerning religion. It was the king's will that now, when the love of the true faith shone again, everything contrary to the truth be regarded as having been dismissed.

Religion should be tolerated from now on. This attitude is something new in the history of Iran. The Achaimenids also professed the Zarathustrian doctrine and were concerned with spreading it in the countries of the empire^). Occasionally the preference of a follower of the Zarathustrian doctrine is encountered, as was under such conditions; there is also talk of persecution of foreign gods^). Nevertheless, religious tolerance was a fundamental feature of Achaemenid politics. In the new Persian empire, on the other hand, after initial tolerance, the united with the priesthood to create the concept of ; the state power felt compelled to enforce it unconditionally within the borders of the empire. The new principle soon turned against other religions, especially Christianity. The martyrdoms of the Syrian church testify to the persecution zeal of the Zarathustrian priesthood.

Mesopotamia was first and foremost the seat of the religions against which the new attitude of the state was directed. They sprang from the womb of Mesopotamian Hellenism. The Parthian Dura, Hatra and the later Seleukeia give us a picture of this world its own, with its interpenetration of ancient soil with newly adopted Greek goods. Like Syria, Mesopotamia was also home to a religious power that itself in the formation of numerous sects. Again, Dura made the coexistence of the most diverse confessions clear: Greek and Semitic , Christ and Yahweh

^) E. Herzfeld, a. 0. 40f.

2) M. Hartmann, OLZ. 1937, 145f.

^) His "a; lter phases have been described in detail by W. W. Tarn, a. 0. 34f.; for the late period see M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its art 89f.

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were united within its walls. In lower Mesopotamia, the Manda; er joined them.

Mesopotamia was also the home of the ReUgion, whose founder emerged at the same time as the Sasanids. Mani, who came from a noble Parthian family, originally belonged to a South Babylonian sect until, in contrast to it, he his own doctrine. Christian and Greek ideas came to him through Gnostic

mediation. In general, he belongs to the ranks of the great Gnostics; alongside Bardesanes of Edessa and Markion, he may be mentioned at some distance. Mani's spiritual home is to be found in Mesopotamian Hellenism; he was the last representative of this culture, which stands alongside the similar cultures of Syria and Egypt.

Mani succumbed to the enmity of the Zarathustrian priesthood. He is said to have preached publicly for the first time on the day of Shapur the First's crowning, "when the sun in the sign of Aries". The king's brother bestowed his favor on the religious and knew how to him. Mani was allowed to him with an exposition of the doctrine written especially for Shapur: the ruler gave permission for the mission in the empire. However, under one of his immediate successors, the magi succeeded in Mani accused and condemned.

He died on the cross; according to another tradition, he was maltreated and his head hung at the city gate^).

5.

The Parthians only gradually grew into their Iranian environment; they only gradually adopted its forms. This applies not only to the rehgion, but also to the language. Although they spoke an Iranian dialect by birth, the Arsacids used Greek on their coins and in their inscriptions. These great kings referred to themselves as PhilheUenians; they had Greek trago; dia at court. A preserved royal letter to the city of Seleukeia on the

1) U@ on the details now Nyberg-Schaeder, op. O. 413f.; there the described manner of Mani's death is regarded as unhistorical, cf. 414; 483 f.

Eulaios^) shows that citizens of such Greek cities rose to the highest dignities, that the court chancellery wrote in Greek and that the Parthian grand ruler decided the internal disputes of the city taking Greek law into account.

Under the Sasanids, the use of Greek in the royal inscriptions was only sporadic and only at the beginning. With the Greek state language, the commitment to Hellenism within the state disappeared altogether. An attitude became dominant that consciously on the Achaemenids and the national Iranian language. It referred to an older state, which was the right one, but which fallen into ruin in times of general decline. After Alexander's appearance, secular and spiritual anarchy, unbelief and ignorance had prevailed in the country until the holy Adarpad submitted to the Order of Fire in order to preserve the purity of the restored Avestan literature. This is what the book of Arda-Viraf tells us, and a; similarly, the

Ardeschir's novel represents the political reorganization. Just as there the pure teachings of Zarathustra were referred back to, so here to the Ko; nigtum of the Achaimenids.

Such a relationship resulted from Ardeshir's ancestry. Persis was his homeland, his ancestor Sasan a descendant of the old royal house. In the bad times, this dynasty had also fallen into lowliness, just as everything else, empire and region, had fallen from their former . According to legend, and not only to their general imagination, the intended connection with the great One had formed a bloodline descent. Ardezhir's uprising, his against Ardewan and

the part-Ko; nige had to be presented as the action of the rightful heir, who his ancestral realm as his property. For this reason, the new king wrote urgent letters to all the when he first appeared, in which he proved his right and called on them to obey him. When Ardewan was defeated in battle, Ardeshir trod on the severed head of the vanquished 1) F. Cumont, C. R. de VAcad. 1932, 238f.; SuppL Ep. Graec. VII no. 1.
37

with . He had himself depicted riding over the corpse of the last Parthian king: Ormuzd grants him dominion, also on horseback and riding over the felled Ahriman. Similarly, the rock relief above the inscription of Bisutun shows the Achaimenid riding over the deceiver and rebel Gaumata, who was lying on the ground^).
When the great Cyrus had defeated the Medes king, he built himself a new capital as a sign of victory: Pasargadai. Ardezhir had achieved something similar, had

Parthian rule was and the Persian land was elevated to new . Once again the victor built himself a new residence, which he named "Ardeschir's Splendor". The model of the first Persian king was also consciously included in this^).
U@ consistent with this was Ardeschir's attitude towards Rome. He demanded the of all land up to the Propontis as an ancient Persian inheritance from its current owners. For Cyrus had conquered it and from then on it had remained in the hands of his successors until Alexander the Achaemenid Empire. His, Ardeschir's, task to take possession of the former property again.
Art is an expression of the new co; ntent; it receives the impetus for its creativity from the ruler and the court. Sasanian art also consciously on the models of Achaemenid art, insofar as they were still visible to it. The horse certainly became a new and preferred subject in the Parthian period, but the images of homage, the triumphs and , and the sacrifices are the same that the ancient Persian period primarily used. Symmetry and the division of the overall picture into overlapping relief strips are found here and there. And just as it is the Persian dialect that conquered Iran under the Sasanids and from then on became authoritative for the national language and literature, Sasanian art originated in the same region. Their memorials are located where most of the witnesses of the Achaemenid period can be found

- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. op. 78f.; 81f.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 76.

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are preserved; often the indirect connection is present, frequently in rock art.

However, even the Sasanian , as consciously national-Iranian as it , and as opposed as it was to the illegitimate and divinely unwanted intermediate kingdom, could not completely renounce what the Parthian had meant. It was the same as with chivalry and the way of fighting on horseback, which had simply been . The principle of could also be broken if it was considered advisable to form kinship with the Arsacid dynasty in order to secure the

newly acquired rule. In the novel of Ardeschir, the latter takes Ardewan's daughter as his wife after achieving victory and as a sign of it. The later king's book the same event with lavish detail; it even wants its readers to believe that the heir to the throne and successor of Ardezhir, the king Shapur, was a son of that Arsacid princess. Enough: the destroyer of the Arsacid house, as which Ardeshir is portrayed to us, knew how to himself in certain cases. Even then, when the Sasanian house was destined to fall, one of the Arab victors was not to the hand of a captured Persian princess, so that she might bestow royal splendor on him and his family.

After Ardewan's downfall, Ardezhir called himself "King of the Kings of Iran". The reason for this was that he wanted to establish his rule the sub-kingdoms - the "little kings", as the rulers of the other nations were probably called in the German Middle Ages in contrast to the empire. However, his successor already bore the incomparably more ambitious title of "king of the kings of Iran and non-Iran". Such an attitude reaches national borders; it reveals a universalistic

claim. Here, too, they followed in the footsteps of the Achaimenids.

The claim derived from the successes in the east, where the rulers of Turan and the Indus region submitted to the king of Iran. He derived himself from the possessions of Mesopotamia; he

The pride in the victories they had won over Arab princes and over the Romans was a source of pride. In contrast to the Parthians, the supremacy was no longer recognized, not even tacitly. As an explicit rival of Rome, they went to the practice of gold, a right that the Parthian kings had never arrogated to themselves. And the self-confidence of the new Sasanian power grew mightily when it achieved what no predecessor had ever managed: the capture of a emperor.

In his triumphal inscription, Shapur boasted that he had captured Valerian with his own hand^). He counted the Roman provinces like defeated kingdoms^). The Sasanian has not become tired of celebrating the result in his mind. There he appears on horseback, wearing the splendid regalia of the Persian : a prisoner in Roman costume kneels before him. He wears shackles on his ; he raises his hands and head in supplication. The captive emperor Valerian is depicted; behind him, shaking his hands demurely in the presence of his overlord, stands the U@ berla; ufer Cyriades^), whom Shapur had set up as counter-emperor. In another relief, the king is riding at the head of his army and again Valerian is kneeling before him. The ring, the symbol of the reign taken from the Ro; mer, is presented the victor. And in four rows one above the other the spoils of war are presented to him

The emperor's chariot and warhorse, a war elephant, leopards and lions chains, the imperial standard and the war treasure; the prisoners follow, clad in the Roman toga.

At such a moment, the Sasanid was allowed to believe that he rightly bore the title of lord "Iran and non-Iran". He also had to learn that was changeable. But

the claim remained: the idea that a new world ruler had come with the new royal dynasty, as predicted by the astrologers in Ardeschir's novel, was not accepted.

- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 834f.
- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 832f.
- Anders E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O.

83 f. 40

abandoned. When Darius in his inscriptions that "the Persian man's lance had penetrated far away", that "the Persian man had defeated the fighting enemy far away from Persia", when the Herodotean Xerxes had the idea before his eyes that his empire's borders coincided with those of Zeus' heaven, the Achaemenid successors did not want to stand back.

Middle Persian history painting was undoubtedly the dominant art of its time^), even if only remnants of its works have survived. Battles and wars were a favorite subject; we know of a painting depicting the siege of Antioch. In another, the kings of the earth were gathered with the world ruler of Iranian origin. Fru; harabic art, in many ways the heir to Sasanian art, continued this tradition. On the walls of an Umayyad pleasure palace you can see the emperor of Byzantium, the last Visigoth king and the last

Sasanids, the Negus of Abyssinia; they were all united around the seat of the Kahfen, both as the defeated and the . Even spa; tro; mical art has not such objects. When Attila took possession of the imperial palace of Milan, his astonished gaze rested on a painting that depicted the emperors on their thrones and the Scythian princes at their .

It was the same claim to world domination that was made in Rome and Ctesiphon. Only in moments great need did one recognize the equality of the other. When Narseh was defeated by Galerius and his tents and wives were in the hands of the victor, the tone was lowered for the first time. Rome and Persia, the Great King's negotiator was told, were the two candlesticks, the two eyes of the world that should not be hostile to each other; the Great could only be defeated by a ruler like Galerius. But even then, the Oriental did not forget to the eyebrowed victor of the changeability of human affairs.

E. Herzfeld, a. 0. 56; 63; 86.

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One may the importance of Sasanian Iran as one pleases, but no fair-minded person will want to grant it equal rights with Rome for a moment. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it was a dangerous and successful opponent of the empire. What gave it this importance was the result of a unique historical constellation. It has often been remarked how much the Sasanian character had an impact - not on the beginnings of the Arab conquest, but on the empire of the caliphs in Baghdad. Perhaps this observation

even more generally. Chivalry and nobility, feudalism and the priesthood, orthodoxy and rule of law, a universal empire with a theocratic character - all of this anticipates forms that are characteristic of the development the Middle

Ages. And at a time when Rome had not yet taken this direction with the same determination and success.
Therein lay the peculiarity of this entity: it anticipated what was to come, at least for a period of time, more strongly than its rival in the West. The Sasanian Empire was the first to the typical medieval . For this very reason it had to take the lead - for that period, but not for longer. As soon as the other side had grasped the course of events, they caught up, and Roman form and mastery proved to be superior to the Orient even in this late period.

SECOND CHAPTER EMPIRE AND
MARGINAL PEOPLE I.
The appearance of the Sasanids coincides with the uprising of state- and peasant-led Iran against the Central Asian riders. The Iranian world was returning to its own and inherited essence. And yet the old is not simply being restored. against the invaders, one confronts them; one takes and what is valuable to one order to it as a weapon against the enemy. The Achaemenid empire is certainly . But the idea of empire and the form adopted by the fringe peoples, Iran and Turan, are both involved in the creation of the Sasanids. Both were incorporated into the new entity, which stood at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The process is perhaps more visible in the Iranian region than elsewhere, but it is not limited to this region. We have to go further. The comprehensive and the individual are mutually dependent: not only in general, but also in the tangible individual case. It only be grasped if the whole, into whose framework it is placed, is added. The turning point, as the third century after Christ proves to be, would remain incomprehensible if one were to forget to ask about world-historical background.
It may be ventured to the general situation that century in summary, sometimes perhaps all too summary, outlines. The focus has chosen to encompass the entire land belt stretching from the Atlantic shores of the west to the banks of the Hwangho in the far east.
Three great empires and, coinciding with them, three cultural circles follow one another within that . On

farthest west are the countries around the Mediterranean, which found their state form in the Imperium Romanum. Then there is Iran: two river basins, Mesopotamia and, on the opposite side, the Pendjab and the Indus Valley, are located in front of it as highlands. (India is a world of its own; but what is revealed of its history in this dark third century is only revealed in relation to Iran). Thirdly and finally, there is the Chinese Empire.
The relations that existed between the three states were of various kinds. Connections that consisted of direct exchange, whether warlike or peaceful, existed to the greatest extent between

Iran and Rome. But between these two and China, too, the fa; ders are deuthch. Trade was the main factor that them; it has maintained such ties throughout the centuries.

"The route from the Stone Tower to Sera", we read in the the geography of Ptolemy, "is through a trading company known by a trading company. Marinos says na; mhch, a certain Maes with the surname Titianos, a Macedonian from kaufma; nnian famu; ie, had recorded the road survey without traveled there himself, but rather on the basis of information provided by his messengers to the Serians." This road, which was mainly though though not exclusively served the silk trade, went up to the Pamir^) through the territory of the Comedes, following the river . Often only a path, leaving just enough room for a loaded pack animal, it wound its way past the rocky walls that bordered the river valley. Sometimes it descended as far as the bed where the water was roaring behind it, sometimes it climbed up vertical walls. walls dizzyingly upwards, leaving the white water deep below. Glaciers had to be crossed, whose ice masses, pushed over one another, seemed to cut off the path for while. At last the road began to descend to the western corner of the Alai valley. Here, on the pass , in the lonely surroundings, stood the

^) For details of the route of the Maes, see A. Herrmann, Das Land der Seide 101 f.

The 'Stone Tower' is surrounded by mountains that rise to seven thousand meters in the south. Two worlds collided there: those who passed by this place had left the Mediterranean countries and the Near East behind them and were now in the midst of a new world.

entered a new cultural sphere. The Chinese Empire began.

The path followed the course of a river on its descent. It reached Kashgar and the land of the Issedonians^), the Tarim Basin. Today Wu; ste: without water, without cultivation and, as the saying goes: behind God's back - it was an important transit area in ancient times. Two trade routes crossed the country; both ran in a west-east direction, following the mountains that border the country to the north and . There was still great uncertainty in the last century before our era. A Chinese historian reports: "If you travel on the northern road, you are exposed to the attacks of the Huns. There is a lack of water and food on the Su; d Road, and in many areas where no population has settled along the road, there are great shortages." The restless activity of the Chinese overlords created A@ nderimg. They describe their measures vividly. The extent of the country, the mountains and , the distances on the roads "were all precisely checked and recorded". Colonies were established, hostels, relay stations and a courier service were set up; interpreters were appointed. "The foreigners, who indulged in trade, knocked on the doors so that they could be ."

The finds at Laulen, on the western shore of the salt lake that forms the Tarim Basin, lead right into the heart of the trade route.) This was the end of the "Long Wall", the mighty border barrier ran to the of the Jalu, sealing off the

Middle Land from the northern border peoples. Laulen was a military outpost of the Chinese empire, it was created out of nothing, because the surrounding area was deserted and the land was

- A. Herrmann, op. cit. O. 125 f.

- Still worth reading is the description by A. Conradys (Die chines. Handschriften- und sonst. KLleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan 16 f.), which is written out of the fresh joy of discovery.

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bore fruit sparingly. Most of the food and much else had to be brought in from the interior. What was was stored in warehouses: grain for food, the crew's weapon supplies, felt cloth and furs to last through the winter. Columns of Mongolian camels, donkeys and horses from Tibet were as pack animals. A staff of officials ruled over the whole thing, who, in the Chinese manner, entrusted almost everything to paper: the type and prices of the goods in transit, the arrival of the letters and their departure, the material received and used; an account was demanded for every halter rope.

This post was not only responsible for guarding the border against the Huns. It was also entrusted with protecting the traffic that passed through the Tarim Basin. Silk was the most important commodity. It came from the interior of China and was specially woven into rolls of a certain for export; the price and origin were marked on them^). The surrounding country, whose supplies were paid for with silk, the West and the merchants of India were the buyers. They brought with them the customs of their homeland and, above all, their goods. Wooden tablets with prakrit texts bear witness to the presence of the Indians, the products of Syrian workshops to the barter trade with the Greek-Roman West. Glassware originating from Antiocheia made its way as far as Korea^); the ornamentation of the imported woolen fabrics was adopted and transformed by the Chinese silk weavers.

Conversely, people in Alexandreia tried to imitate the rare and precious silks of the Far East^).

The road was not only of economic importance. The merchant paved the way for the great world religions. Buddhism passed through here when it set out to conquer China, Tibet and the Mongelei. The missionaries of Nestorian Christianity and, like them through the

- A. Stein, Hirth Anniversary Volume 368; Serindia 373f.

- G. G. Seligmann, Antiquity 1937, 16f. 2) F. Cumont, VEgypte des astrologues 91.

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The ruthless persecutions of the Sasanians drove out the founders of Mani's teachings. They have all left their mark on the Tarim Basin. Buddhist cave temples, the frescoes depicting the prayers of the Enlightened One in a hundredfold repetition, appear alongside the Manicha; er's efforts or the delicate miniatures with which the sect decorated their holy .

It is no coincidence that the Tarim Basin is the place where, since the fifth century A.D., a mixed culture of peculiar practice developed. In Choten, Turfan and other places it has once again met our astonished gaze. Hellenistic and Chinese forms have entered into a combination with each other, with Indian and Sasanian forms, the complexity of which no other place in the ancient world can compare.
The disadvantages of traffic on the Silk Road were the distance, the obstacles placed in the way by nature and, last but not least, the lack of a direct connection between China and Rome. The profits of intermediate trade were high. They weighed on

prices: in Diocletian's highest price tariff, the pound (0.327 kg) of raw silk was valued at two thousand denarii (about 219 Reichsmark)^). The shortage was also on the Chinese side, and the only attempt to overcome it was made from there. Kan-Jing'^) undertook his journey to the west on official orders at about the same time as the Macedonian Maes. He was supposed to reach Su; darabia or Roman Syria, but only got as far as Spasinu Charax on the Persian Gulf. During this advancethe mediators whose borders the road crossed - the Parthians and Sogdians, the Kushans - were all too keen to maintain the previous situation.
Trade a second land link between China and the West. The Silk Road led over the "roof of the world" with its horrors: the cold, the storms
^) On the price of silk see SHA. v. Aur. 45, 2. 2) A. Herrmann, l. O. 89f.

and mountain sickness, it led them on which even today the path is trudged through the snow by columns of workers year in, year out - so the other connection bypassed such obstacles. It ran north of the Central Asian massif, not using the narrow river but the plain. In it, too, as a wide bedtrade traveled its way.
The path led through the area of wandering and ra; uberian tribes. Their migrations stretched from the borders of Sogdiana to the foothills of the Caucasus. It was said of the steppe that they used the skin taken from the slain enemy to cover their war horses and their own bodies. The

Jent-sai, settled not far from the Aral Sea, able to field 100,000 archers. The ancient authors called them Aorsians; subsequently the term Alans was used, which means the same as "Aryans" or "Iranians"^). An Iranian tribe had thus gained the upper hand over the nomads and its name on them through its rule. With their wagons and herds, these Alans roamed the steppe, on meat and mare's milk. Tall, fair-haired , they practiced the trade of war out of inclination and as their only worthy profession. They only worshipped the god of war; in the bare sword that was raised before them, his essence came to them in a meaningful way.
There were no people on the northern road who had left messages like the Greeks or Chinese. entered a world without writing and without history. Only the material legacy, as far as it could be found in the ground, has preserved information about the existence and direction of trade. Greek wool embroidery

and Chinese silk fabrics emerged from the Hunnish foot graves of Noin Ula in Outer Mongolia. Two formal circles met and interpenetrated at the same time. The ornamentation of the Hun tribe itself shows how vividly they interpenetrated. It incorporated Greek and Chinese forms in equal measure.

- Most recently H. Jacobsolm, Aryans and Ugrofins

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Such an adoption can only be understood if there has been a strong and persistent influx from both sides. We are familiar with the archaic Greek lion's head, with its developed beard cushions, the stylized ridging of the whiskers. He grimly pulls his lips to show the observer his teeth, his tongue hanging out.

show. Going back to Near Eastern models, converted the Greeks, the type had a lasting influence on the Scythian goldsmiths of the Kuban region. They copied it in massive forms, but enriched them with inlaid work in amber and colored pastes. From there, a migration began that via the wooden plaques of the Altai region to TransbaikaHen. In Noin Ula, the lion's head is encountered; it has found its into Chinese arts and crafts.

The Scythian region, beginning at the Black Sea and with the Transcaspian regions, also formed a between the ancient world and the Far East. It was not only since the centuries of the late Republic and Imperial period that this bridge was crossed. Although the archaic Lo; wenkopf has been and introduced into the form of Chinese ornamentation, its origins should not be misunderstood. It can already be found in the minor arts of the Tschau (1125 - 250) and early Han (from 206 BC).

It was external connections between the three major ancient cultures that have been explored so far. More essential is a connection that one might call internal

- the interconnectedness of historical destiny. 2.

The battle between Iran and Turan had only reached a temporary conclusion with Ardezhir's uprising. No sooner had Parthian rule been and the new empire consolidated than the old opponent rose up with increased strength.

The Sasanian kingship itself, as much as it insisted on Achaemenid supremacy, had not been to escape the forms that the Parthians had brought with them from the steppes. The horseman

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The old Persian style, once , had remained; old Persian landedness and nomadic chivalry had entered into a new alliance. The liberation of the native soil from Turanian rule also not completed. In large parts of Iran there were still descendants of the riding , uncomfortable and hostile neighbors. The fact that it remained and had to remain this way due to the historical and geographical division of the Iranian landscape.

It lacks a unified form. Politically, there are still two areas in the east: Afghanistan and the British crown colony of Balujistan. The area, which is defined by the cities of Herat, Balch and Kandahar and essentially comprises the former satrapy of Bactria, resembles a castle that is difficult to access, not only towards the foot of the river but also to the west. The foothills of the

Hindu Kush rise from Herat to an incomparably height than the chains that separate Khorasan from the steppe. The Su; den as far as the sea is also sealed off from the Iranian west: the waterless Wu; ste intervenes as an obstacle. Only with Sistan, the area around Lake Hamun, does the country regain a fertile reputation.

Historically, the separation of the East from the whole of Iran goes back a long way^). After the fall of the Achaimenids, the satrap Bessos intended to his own empire in Bactria. The plan failed, as it had to, because of Alexander's encroaching power; but a little it was renewed under more favorable auspices. The satrapies broke away from the Seleucid successor state and formed their own Greek-Bactrian kingdom^), barely half a century had passed since the great Macedonian's accession. Attempts to overthrow the

The attempt to return the separated component the whole has not failed: lasting success has been denied them.

Even then, the threat of danger from Turan played a role. After Alexander's death, the nomads of the north had taken over the oasis

^) W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. XIX has shown that in the Achaimenid wedge already exists. 2) The individual stages now at

W. W. Tarn, a. 0. 72f. 50

Merw was overrun and the Greek city founded there was destroyed^). Then the Bactrian co; nies took over the border protection and expanded it with their own facilities^). They played the same role in Iran as protectors of the urban and rural cultures from the northern Iranian steppe peoples: Dahars, Sakarauks and Saks, as the Macedonian Antigonids did in fending off the barbarians of the Balkans^). When the Seleucid Antiochus III besieged the Bactrian king in his capital, the latter persuaded him to make peace by threatening that he would call the nomads across the borders^). It was clear to both of them that the downfall of Greek rule over eastern Iran was inevitable. The events of the following period were to show the correctness of such foresight. Disaster struck when a new conflict between the Seleucids^) and the Bactrian house of the Euthydemids weakened the power of Eastern Greece.

From the first decades of the second century onwards, wave after wave of Central Asian peoples invaded Iran from the northeast. After 174 B.C. the Tocharians, or as they known by their Chinese name: the Ju; etschi^), began to move in. Defeated and oppressed by other nomadic , they in turn conquered the neighboring

Scaring off the Saka, they seized the land of Bactria and put an end to Hellenistic rule. The Saka, preceding them, went on to Su; den; after a long journey they settled in Sakestan (Sistan), named after them.

At the same time, the Parthians, who had already arrived from the Transcaspian steppes around the middle of the third century B.C.

- Plin, naL hist. 6, 47; W. W. Tarn, op. O. 72; 117.
- W. W. Tarn, op. O. 116f.; u; ber Baktrien als Fmchtland: a. O. 102.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 79; 143.

W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 82; 117 note 1.

^) On this W. W. Tam's far-reaching assumption that Eucratides' elevation took place with Antiochus IV Epiphanes' support: l.c. 183f. Of course, I cannot agree with Tam's view of Heliocles' elevation and the Parthian invasion (l.c. 219 f.).

^) On the question of equating G. Haloun, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 91, 243f. W.W. Tarn's explanations (l.c. 275f.; 285f.) are written without knowledge of this essay.

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had established themselves "like thieves" in the satrapy of Parthia. Within a human age won they Media, then Mesopotamia. When their great conqueror Mithridates I died, the Parthian power extended over the whole of western Iran; in the east it encompassed Khorasan and parts of Afghanistan. A storm surge of Central Asian horsemen and nomadic tribes had itself of the Iranianterritory. What remained of Alexander's work was once the

A name that never lost its magic. Until recent times^) small dynastic families in the Hindu Kush claimed to be descendants of Alexander; the Mirs of Badakhshan even had their horses descended from Bucephalus . . . There then remained an after-effect of a cultural nature, especially in the East, where Hellenization had been pursued with particular vigour. Of course, Greekness did not remain unmixed. Those pure and, in the best sense of the word, classical formations, which the oldest of Greek-Bactrian co; nies exhibit^), . The Greek forms were interspersed with indigenous forms, but at the same time they permeated them and thus helped to give pictorial expression to as yet unformed ideas. When the Bactrian rulers subjugated north-western India, they came within the sphere of the Buddha's teachings; without becoming Buddhists themselves, they took sides them and against Brahmanism^). Since then, a Greek-Indian hybrid art began shape the types of Buddhist iconography that had become canonical.

The invasion of the nomads added a few significant additions. The Parthians brought their Central Asian animal style with them to Iran; they preserved it in isolated fa; ules until later times. In the East, Buddhism also subjugated these invaders; it not only gave them the doctrine, but with it the forms of its art. Only that the Ko; nige of the Tocharians or, as they called themselves, the Kushans, that the "Kshatrapas" of the

- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 302f. ^^^
- X" and 'school ofX' - after W. W. Tarn's naming (l.c. 75t.)
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 172f.; 268f.

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Saken presented themselves on horseback and in knightly bearing on their mu; . For they emphasized their origins everywhere: in the pride they took in their

warrior status and in the fact that these rulers displayed themselves to their subjects in front of their nomadic tents, sitting on spread carpets.

As a poHtical power, Hellenism seemed to have been extinguished in Iran. However, the separation of a Bactrian special co; ntry from the Seleucid Empire continued to have an effect in a changed situation. While the Parthians established themselves primarily in Seleucid territory, the Tocharians and Saka took over the east. Only for a short time was an Arsacid collateral line able to assert itself in the core area of the eastern Iranian lands^).

When Ardezhir rose up against the centuries-long rule of the steppe people, his universal claim did not stop at the East. There, too, he was forced to confront his natural adversaries in the dominions that the Central Asian states had established on the soil of the former Achaemenid Empire. At first, the Sasanids seemed to be successful. Ardeshir traveled as far as Nishapur, Merw, Balch and the land of Khwarizm, south of the Aral Sea; the king of the Tocharians and the Saka princes offered him homage. Under his successors, Sasanian supremacy extended as far as the mouth of the Indus. When Shapur I described himself as "King of the of Iran and non-Iran", this was no more a mere claim in the east than it was after the defeat of Valerian in the west. However, this position was to be short-lived.

The large Paikuli inscription in Persian and Parthian tells of the victory of the Sasanid Narseh (293-303) over his predecessor and rival. All

The rulers have sent their congratulations on this victory, it is said. Next to the "Kushan-shah", the Ko; nig the Tocharians, and the "Chwarizm-schah", next to the "Caesar of Rome" appear the Sakish princes of Su; dostiran and northern India.

- E. Herzfeld, Arch. Mitteilungen aus Iran 4, 70f.; W. W. Tarn, a. O. 281; 320; 499.

However, they no longer appear as , but sovereign rulers. This inscription, which presents itself as a monument to great royal power, actually reveals the collapse of Sasanian power in the East. There, the struggle for the throne, which was fought within the royal house, had been used to break free. Iran once again eluded the Sasanids, just as it had previously eluded the Parthians and Seleucids.

Even this turnaround could no longer be reversed. The nomadic Central Asian element in the East soon gained a new foothold. In the course of the fourth century A.D., tribes of Turkic or Mongolian origin invaded and, together with their predecessors, continued the fight against the Sasanians. The constant threat posed by the nomads of the northeast and east, the defense against the fringe peoples proved to be the fate of the Persian Empire from then on.

The Alans had already appeared in the north under the Parthians. Sitting on the other side of the Caucasus, they invaded Armenia and Media under Nero's reign. The following period saw the return of the invaders. Their next target was the Caspian Gates, the pass between Tif Hs and Vladikavkaz,

which, according to legend, Alexander had closed with iron gates.
The flood also approached from Su; den. Arab tribes advanced across the Euphrates and established themselves between the two streams. Shapur had to with them: a procession of Bedouin camel herders appears on his victorious reliefs. They had to deal with unrivaled opponents. Arab Hatra resisted the attack of two Roman emperors and the attempts of Ardeshir.
The nomadic wave that swept Iran in the second century BC had its origins in the Far East. A huge barrier closed off China from the of the steppe. It was the work of the Tsin and early Han; there, too, a defensive struggle began against the other border . It was answered by the founding of a great Hun empire by Mautun; it extended from the
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Chinese wall to East Turkestan. Both the founding of the empire and the building of the wall had the effect that the other steppe peoples were pushed up. Since their way to Su; den, to the banks of the Hwangho, was blocked, they turned west. The Tocharians, whose road be traced most completely, set out from the plains north of the Tsaidam and Kukunor, migrated through the Tarim Basin to Ferghana before entering Greek Bactria.
China was spared a nomadic invasion and, in its wake, the domination of Central Asian tribes. Nevertheless, the conflict with the marginal peoples of the north also caused a , the effect of which cannot be overestimated. For this confrontation was not limited to

to a defense and isolation from the outside world. At their side was an advance of cultural forms that did not deny their origins in the nomadic north and northwest, even if the subsequent period may have melted them away and made them part of the Chinese character. With the beginning of the modern era, the Central Asian animal style appeared in the Chinese sphere and, causally to it, the new evaluation and significance of the animal itself. The imaginary world of China had already been theriomorphic; the bronze vessels of the Tschau period with their strange images taken from the real or fabulous animal world bear witness to this. These images are presented in hieratically bound forms, in the most intricate ornamentation, in calm juxtaposition and opposition. With the Han, a new attitude appears on the scene: the animal bodies loosen themselves from their ornamental torpor, they become excited, passionate and energetically animated; in pathetic battle scenes, a previously unknown willingness to be seized by animal essence is revealed. The animals themselves have also changed: the horse takes center stage. In ever new images, one seeks to depict it and thereby to get hold of it; it is as if one has become astonishedly aware of what this animal is all about. In the art of the Tang, then, those emerge before
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The sculpture, in which equine being was grasped in a depth rarely found elsewhere. This in its calm as in the fire of movement, in the pleasure of one's own being, withdrawing, as it were, or in trembling expectation of what is to come: Play, fight and display - to put all this before our eyes is this

time filled with equestrian and chivalrous nature did not become mu; de.
The new style encompasses both art and life. Finds from Mongolia and northern China show an intrusion the peripheral regions; objects of the same kind are found throughout southern Siberia and in neighboring parts of Russia. New forms tactics and martial armament stood alongside artistic design; they made their way into China at the same time and from the same regions.
Again, the horse gained an that had not existed before^). During his first stay in the west, Changkien had of the "blood-sweating" Ferghana breed, which was said to be of celestial origin. During his second sojourn (115 BC), he brought such animals home: heavy warhorses of Parthian , as shown by the wall carvings in Dura from later times; they were found to be stronger than those of China. On hearing of an even more perfect breed of horse, the Chinese undertook a war against the city of Irschi with the sole aim of gaining possession of a few specimens. Despite many failures, they succeeded and since then the new type of horse has also appeared in Chinese art. The founder of the Tang dynasty went so far as to erect a monument to the six heavy stallions he rode in his battles. Alexander's love for Bucephalus, the epitaph of Hadrian's Alanian body horse, had thus received distant counterpart. . .
Enough: the widespread use of the horse was the basis for a transformation of Chinese warfare, which was nobly based on the horse.

- On the following W. W. Tarn, op. cit. l.c. 308f.; (cf. 16 and his earlier explanations in Hellenistic military and naval

developments Iii. and App. II); W. P. Yetts. Euras. Sept. antiq. 9, 231 f.

Abb. 10. Dakische Burgmauer. Costeschti (S. 90f.; 266).

Abb. 11. Donau bei Cernavoda. Grenze zwischen Großer Walachei und Dobrudscha (S. 97).

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is evident from the memoirs. Under pressure from the Huns and the other equestrian peoples, China's leaders felt compelled to abandon the heavy foot soldiers and the outdated chariots in favor of a mounted force with heavy and light armament in the Central Asian style. This new army had as little to do with what preceded it as the Parthian and Sasanian cavalry armies had with the Achaemenid foot soldiers and chariots. Here, as there, something new had entered from outside into the realm of an originally different old and high culture; it will be shown that a related process place in the Roman world.

Once they were able to withstand the battle against the steppe peoples, the Hank emperors remained true to their warlike policy in the following period. At the turn of the first century AD, the decisive blow was struck. by the victories of the Chinese armies and threatened by the uprising of formerly subjugated tribes in their own territory, the Huns gave up the fight. Some left their ancestral seats and migrated westwards towards the Aral Sea; others submitted to Chinese sovereignty^). The main danger seemed to have been

averted, but the elimination of the external enemy provoked internal discord. Torn apart by turmoil, the unified state collapsed after the death of the last Han (221); the period of the "three kingdoms" began.
This was precisely the time when the turnaround took place within Iran. Ardeshir eliminated the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids and sought to restore the old Persian Empire to its former glory and borders. In China, too, the unified state rose again : the emperor Wuti fu; gte still once

together what had been broken with the fall of the Han. At the same time, Sasanian rule over eastern Iran was at its . But just as here the nomadic sphere the lost ground and itself through the addition of new tribes, so the beginning of the) J. Werner, Euras. Sept, ant. 9, 259f. assigns the Ordos bronzes to it.
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The fourth century in China was characterized by an a; hnic event. Tungusic had moved into the areas of Mongolia that had been cleared by the Huns and became immediate neighbors and opponents of the empire. As a resultencouraged by previous settlements of barbarian tribes on northern Chinese soil, they occupied all the land up to the banks of the Hwangho.
The analogy of historical destiny necessitates the creation of analogous historical formations. Just as in Iran and China the defense against the horsemen and steppe took up a large part of the forces, so this defense took place in the same way in both the hollow and the thick. It was not only the Middle Kingdom that sought itself against its unwelcome neighbor with a system of barriers: Iran resorted to the same means.
Even the times of Greco-Bactrian co; ntry saw the emergence of such installations^). The Jaxartes formed a natural barrier, which was reinforced by military colonies and fortified posts; Alexander had preceded it with similar installations to protect Sogdiana. The second Seleucid had the oasis of Merw surrounded by a wall after a nomadic invasion^); such walls protected the area of Bochara in later times,

Samarkand and Balch^). When the Chinese Tschangkien 128 V. Zw. came to the Bactrian land, he walled cities everywhere; they provided protection against the raids of the nomads*).
A@ similar situation persisted under the Parthians^) and the Sasanians. Nothing has survived of their fortifications and ground research has barely begun^). However, we know of castles that were built on the borders of Gurgan against the Ra; uber Turkic of the north.

- On the following W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 117 note 1; 120; 121f.; 475f.
- Strabon 11 p. 516; Plin., nat. hist. 6, 47; W. W. Tarn, op. O. 117.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 117; cf. 82.

*) W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 118; 121f.; cf. 279f.
W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 121 f. ") On the following Th. No; ldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 158 and

Note 1; 123 and note 2; 131 note 1; 168 and note 6; A. Stein, Geogr. Journ. 47, 313f.; 48, 227f.; E. Herzfeld, Islam 11, 152 note 1.

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stood. Later, a veritable barrier was created. Towns and castles, fortresses and other buildings were "so that they could serve as protection for the inhabitants and they there in the of sudden by the enemy". Another ajolage stretched from the western shore of the Caspian Sea up to the Caucasus, running through the mountains and valleys of Dagestan and Georgia. It closed the Albanian and Iberian gates to the Alans coming from the north. Just as one oneself against the desert and its sand dunes with solid vegetation, just as one builds dams against white water, so one sought master the nomadic power with the barrier fortifications.

Margraves are named who were deployed against the Kushans and other . They were in charge of the long lines of defense.

Everywhere the comparison with Rome will itself, most immediately in the case of the magnificent fortifications. In a wide arc, from the source of the Euphrates to that of the Danube, then running northwards, this fortified border encircles the spa; tro; mian empire, sealing it off and it against the eerie, turbulent outside of the peripheral . But the comparison does not hold. Just as the Sasanians and the Hank emperors of the nomads not only defended themselves but, in order to accomplish such defense, nomadic weapons and adopted ways of fighting, so too did Rome. Once again, it stands alongside the other two great empires. For the military history of the third century is also largely characterized by the adoption of barbarian forms of combat and troop types.

The picture of this third century after Christ is already emerging in outline. Iran, the China of the late Han, the Roman Empire - they are all characterized by an image of empire, in general by a state feeling of comparative strength and perseverance. Highly valued old cultures, entering their spa; tform and becoming mature, surround themselves with forms that solidify, that begin to congeal. Everywhere they are surrounded by restlessly undulating, in the process of becoming

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The ancient advanced civilizations are confronted a world of "barbarian" marginal peoples^) that is still shapeless but has a strong future. Their threatening power forces those under attack to think of new means of defense. They

They take them from their opponents, and in doing so, the new and the old enter into a connection - a connection that we have described as medieval in the universal historical sense.

- To avoid any misunderstandings, it should be noted that

"barbaric" is not used in the sense of a value judgment, but merely to indicate the contrast to the high and ancient cultures. There is no suitable word for this in modern languages.

CHAPTER THREE THE BORDERS 1.

Attack and defense are as old as the frontier defenses themselves. The first loss, which was not to be recovered, was on them in the times of Commodus. It ushered in a new era, as did the emperor himself, in whose year the event .

Two great tribes lived in the part of Scotland that was free of Roman occupation: the Maeats further , the Caledonians to the north. Roman historians describe the country as wild and waterless mountains, interrupted by deserted, marshy plains. , building walls, tilling the land were alien to these tribes, cattle breeding and hunting, a little wild fruit them with food; they the catch of fish, which their sea produced in large quantities. U@ everywhere they lived in the simplest of forms: scantily clad and without shoes, they lived in small . They , it was said, their wives in common and the offspring from such unions. They endured hunger, cold and every adversity steadfastly. When they hid in their sou; mps, they would endure for days, supposedly just keeping their heads out of the water. In their

They were content with bark and roots; they only needed a piece specially prepared food the size a bean in order not to starve and . The armament was also of the simplest kind: shields, but no helmets or armor; plus a short spear with a bronze ball at the butt end, the rattling of which was intended to frighten the enemy. , a cavalry on small but swift horses, an agile and steadfast infantry side by side.

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The barbarian-utu; mlicheri world of the north was confronted the Roman; mish province. Two barrier lines sealed it from the independent states of the Scottish highlands. In the south was Hadrian's fortification: a huge rampart, ten Roman feet thick and twice as high, with stonework and brick walls, right across the peninsula, oblivious the difficulties of the terrain. Sixteen large stone camps were into this rampart, with smaller forts and brick towers following one another at intervals.

Further to the north was a second fortification, which was built under Antoninus Pius. If Hadrian's Wall was in a permanent stockade, it was limited to earthworks with wooden . While units were united there in corresponding camps in order to always have closed army units at their disposal, here the troops remained spread out over a post army. The intention was not a defensive position, but effective border control.

In the early years of Commodus, the independent tribes of the highlands broke out against the fortifications. They overran the wall of Antoninus

and defeated the in the open field; the governor himself was among the dead. Ulpius Marcellus, sent by the emperor, took his place: he quelled the troops with strict discipline and won back what had been lost. But the northern rampart remained in ; the whole complex was shaved by the Romans themselves and the border was moved back to Hadrian's line.

Shortly afterwards, this line also came under threat. Clodius Albinus withdrew all available troops from the limes and province in order to use them for the decisive battle against Septimius Severus. The Maeates used their absence to at the hated fortress belt that closed and constricted them. They fell upon the surrounded camps and destroyed them. Not only did they burn them down, but they broke down the walls, tore the stones from their beds, the sleepers from the ground; every trace of the Roman twentieth century was to be erased.
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The governors that Septimius Severus sent into the country had the task of reconstruction before them. Enormous efforts were made and it was not without reason that the renewed work remained with the emperor's name. In 208, Severus himself appeared: not only was Hadrian's defense system to be restored, but the attack against the independent parts of the island was also to be taken up.
When the emperor died in York after four years of effort, the So; hne gave up the conquered territory. They set up camps as far as Aberdeen. The fighting style of the barbarians, who never surrendered, but with their light armaments and chariots did the Romans some damage, did not lead to lasting success. Nevertheless, the venture made an impression

The attack on the city did not fail: the border was not attacked again for a full century. But the subjugation of the highlands remained an unachieved goal; the Antonine Wall was not rebuilt either.
2.
Shortly after the middle of the century, a similar event occurs on Germanic soil. More serious than the ra; umung of the front position in Britain, it looks like the omen of a collapse of Roman rule in general. It is the loss of the Upper Rhine Limes and the area between it and the Rhine, the 'Zehnlande'i). Caracalla already had to fend off an advance by the Alamanni here. They attempted to invade via the Main, but the emperor advanced from the flank (via the limes) against the attackers' own country and forced them to abandon their plan. The Alamanni made a second advance under Alexander Severus. He hit the defenses where the Rhaetian and Germanic limes met. However, this venture did not achieve more than an initial success.
^) E. Norden, Altgermanien 152f.; E. Hesselmayer, KHo 1938, 92f.
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Under pressure from the Alamanuen, the forts of the Limes were reinforced. At Saalburg, the enclosing wall, which was built in the Gallic manner with alternating beams and stone layers, was rebuilt in solid stone. Towns on the right bank of the Rhine such as Faimingen and Heddernheim were surrounded by a solid ring of walls. In the outer Limes of Upper Germania, which began on the Main near Miltenberg

su; dwa; rts verHef, the rampart and ditch were replaced by stone walls.
Nevertheless, fate could not be stopped. Valerian had the border of the empire when he marched towards Suden with the marching divisions of the legions

there and won the crown. The Franks and Alamanni seized the opportunity and succeeded in what they had previously been denied. The Franks won the land around the Lahn and as far as the Sieg, which, located in front of the northern part of the border wall, was counted as part of the empire^). Valerian's son Gallienus, to whom his father had entrusted the care of the west, had to witness the Alamanni breaking through the border barrier. There is no written record of the event, which such serious consequences. Only the condition of the forts when they were discovered, the heavy layers of fire, interspersed with human limbs and enemy weapons, give us an idea of what may have happened. The Rhine was already under threat when Gallienus managed to hold it with the help of British reinforcements.

At the same time, the Ra; tian province was also lost. Although Aureolus was still in command there in 268, GaUienus abandoned it according to explicit testimony. Under him, the city on the Lindenberg near Kempten was conquered and abandoned by its inhabitants forever. The inscriptions break as early as the year 257. The re-fortified Vindonissa attempted in vain to block the victorious Alamanni from crossing the Alps: they advanced as far as northern Italy.

Aventicum, the suburb of the Helvetic country, was by them; since then, the glacier city began to be destroyed by

1) Laterc. Veron. 15, 7; most recently R. v. Uslar, Westgerman. Bodenfunde 178 note 26; J. Steinhausen, Archa; ol. Siedlungskde. des Trierer Landes 381f.

Vespasian to the rank of a colony. In the fourth century, it was already an abandoned , but the decaying were still recognizable traces of former splendour.

"The resonance that the fall of the Ro; mer city aroused throughout the Germanic world must have been tremendous. Even in the second century , transferred to nordic heroes, the memory of the march to ItaHen and the conquest of Aventicum lived on in Icelandic sagas, in which one of Ragnar Ladbrok's so; hnen, how they bert south of the Alps and broke 'Vifilsborg' (i.e. Aventicum)."^)

Gallienus, who rushed from the Rhine border, defeated the invaders at Milan. He only had a small force at his disposal, gathered from all sides: the vexillations of a Rhenish and two Danube legions, plus the Illyrian guard that was in Rome and Albanum^), a total of 10,000 men. At the time when the uprising of the Upper Pannonian and Moesian legions^) called Gallienus to a new theater, the Mu; nzfunde in the Limeskastellen break off. Postumus' uprising and the fall of the Rhenish legions^) sealed the fate of the last posts still held.

Most of the castles seem to have been moved to plan. Part of the population was also to the left bank of the Rhine; this was not conceivable for larger urban settlements. One piece of evidence that has been overlooked is the history of the Teutons. Remnants of this widely migrated Germanic tribe sat together with Cimbri and Ambrones

^) F. Sta; heHn, Die Schweiz in ro; m. Zeit^ 252. Time^ 252. The chronology would change if Alfo; ldi's work of the same name, with its approach of Valerian's

Katastrophe auf 260 Recht ha; tte. Or Fredegar 2, 40 {MGH., Script, rer. Merov. 2, 64) must not have meant the sole reign of Gallienus, but his co-emperorship. However, Alfo; ldi's approach has recently been confirmed by H. Mattingly, iVumism. Chron. 1936, 99; cf. also
L. Laffranchi, Transactions Internat. Num. Congr. 1936, 207;
H. D. M. Parker, Hist: Rom. world 138-337. 344 n. 26; S. Bolin, Die Chronologie d. gall. Kaiser {Bull. Soc. Litt. Lund 1931 - 32) 9f.; 16f. Last A@ utterance on the question: A. Stein, Laureae Aquincenses 1, 256f.

- A. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 1929, 253f.
- A. Alfo; ldi, l. O. 255 f.

*)On the dating: L. Wickert, RE 13, 245; 345f.; A. Stein, RE 3, 1659; A. Alfo; ldi, l. c. 261 f.; but cf. O. 261 f.; but cf. H. Mattingly, l.c. op. 99 note 23.
5
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near Miltenberg am Main, in the protection of the Limes that runs there. They worshipped their god Wodan under a Roman name and, as the Teuton Stone teaches, used their ancient characters, the runes^). The Roman; mish rule had Celticized them, as their later form of name and their GalHian temples show. It is understandable that they preferred Roman rule to their Germanic relatives and to Gaul. They ended up there in the fourth century as Grimdho; rige: in the vicinity of Chartres we encounter the last remnants of this proudest tribe as laeti Teutoniciani^).
There was no lack of attempts to reconquer the lost territories. The Romans reclaimed part of the plain of the River Main and the area connecting Gaul with the

Danube, an important area north of Lake Constance and on the Neckar. But the Limes was not restored.
At the same time as the Upper Rhine and Rhaetian border defenses were abandoned, the defenses on the Lower Rhine were also moved backwards. The limes along the Old Rhine, running from Utrecht via Leiden to Katwik on the North Sea, was moved and the Utrecht fort, the key to the position, was abandoned after its destruction in 260^). On a new line further , in Belgium, the Franks were resisted^). They followed from the north bank of the river to its south bank.
Postumus' Gallic empire never extended beyond the Rhine border.
beyond. But it was here that he stopped the Germanic advance,
making use of Germanic auxiliary troops. Trier became the
Capital of the kingdom and refortified as such. Also la; ngs
of the river and into the hinterland^) fortifications were erected.
^) On all this, cf. the new study of the Miltenberg Touton Stone in F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, Vom Ursprung der Runen 74 f.

- Notit. dignit., occ. 42, 33. Teutoniciani alongside Teutoni such as Armoriciani, Liticiani (Jord., Get. 36, 191; cf. Scho; nfeld, RE 12, 447), Germaniciani (most recently W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen 206). W. J. Beckers, Rhein. Mus. 1939, 87, who speaks of a "colony" of the Teutons. U@ Scho; nfeld (a. 0. 446f.) has already the right thing about the origin of the laeti mentioned here.
- W. Vollgraff, II limes Romano nei Paesi Bassi (II Limes Romano V in: Quaderni delVimpero) 6; 16f.

*) H. Nesselhauf, Abb. Berlin. Akad. 1938, 2, 53 f. 5) L. Lantier, 20. Ber. Ro; m.-germ. comm. 135 f.

The aim was to create a new border fortification to replace the lost one.

The removal of the last of these rulers by Aurelian forced the central power to look after things itself. The increasing weakness of the Gallic empire had exploited by the Germanic tribes, who attacked the provinces by land and sea. Aurelian drove them across the Rhine; he also inflicted devastating blows on the Jutungen, Alamanni and Marcomanni who had invaded Italy. Probus, who was left in command on the Germanic border, the borderlands on the southern Limes for a while.

But the opponents were not satisfied. A few years later, the Limes area was lost again and the now Emperor Probus had new to . Longiones, followed by Alamanni, and Franks broke across the imperial border at the same time; what followed was the catastrophe that had hit Gaul up to that point: seventy unfortified cities went up in flames and the devastated regions were transformed into a . Trier was not spared either; the catastrophe had an even greater impact on the countryside^). Another fra; nkish mob threw themselves into the ships and ravaged the Mediterranean. Spreading terror in Greece and Sicily, it Syracuse, was repulsed off Carthage and home unhindered with its plunder.

Probus entrusted the defeat of the Franks, who had invaded Gaul, to his . He himself marched against the Alamanni, drove them back across the Neckar and the dependencies of the Black Forest . The

He secured the regained Rhine border with forts, which he built on the right bank. He gave the garrisons land and , so that they could settle in the vicinity of the forts: from then on, they had to defend their own clod with the imperial border.

In neighboring Britain, too, new forms of defense were invented. A chain of fortifications stretched along the south coast of England, higher and more powerful than the fortifications of the ^) J. Steinhausen, l. c. O. 381 f.

a; lter imperial era. On the bastions you can the beds for the heavy guns that dominated the beach from there. These works were at the end of the third century; Constantius used them to the advance of the Saxons and Franks to the sea - these forerunners of the later conquerors of Britain and the Vikings.

Such means of defense had to be created, for the force of the Germanic attack had grown considerably. Individual tribes hardly appeared any more, tribal had taken their place. The word 'Alamanni' was already interpreted in antiquity as a union of several tribes. The Frankish name was native to the Lower Rhine, where it was once used by the Chamavas. Since Gallienus, it was used to designate the entire tribal confederation whose residences extended as far the marshy lowlands at the mouth of the river. The geographer Ptolemy knew of the Saxons that they lived on the 'neck' of the Cimbrian peninsula; they also owned three islands off the Elbe estuary. From there they advanced westwards: they conquered the Chauchen, Angrivarians and Cherusci, who had once been powerful tribes^).

As late as the time of the Marcomannic War, the Chauchen had made a sudden attack on the Lower Rhine;^) it was not without that Didius Julianus, the later emperor, them with the land army that had been gathered at . From the early years of Diocletian, their new masters, the Saxons, took their place; together with the Saxon Franks, they occupied the on both sides of the channel down to Brittany.

The Germanic tribes formed large-scale poHtic images when the confrontation with a powerful opponent forced them to do so. The first two empires, those of Marbod and Arminius, were formed in anticipation of or defense against a attack. When the tribes along the Rhine were now preparing to break through the Roman border barriers, the

^) E. Norden, German. Urgesch. in Tac. Germ. 495 f.

- Most recently M. Lintzel, Sachsen und Anhalt 13, 32 f.
- U. Kahrstadt, Go; tt. Gel. Anz. 1938, 418.

break, the process repeated itself^). The state and military foundation of the empire forced the states living on the other side of the border to be united and also to take firmer forms. At the same time, new tribes appeared on the battlefield. The appearance of the Alamanni, which marked the beginning of the most serious attacks against the Limes, coincided in time and fact with the migration of the Semnones from their homeland east of the Elbe; a tribe from the interior, still untouched by civilization, advanced towards the border of the empire. Its unspent strength , under a new name, with the residents there and brought about the collapse of the border defense. U@ everywhere behind Rome's immediate neighbors new Germanic WeUen surged forward, the, once in

The movement, the dra; ning of those standing in front intensified.

On the fens in the Silesian moors, quantities of weapons and large pieces loot have come to light. Boats have been brought up, one of which had no less than 28 oar seats. Constant fighting and murder must have taken place there: the victors handed over part of the spear-won goods to the and sank them in the moors^). The finds extend over several centuries and the battles must have lasted just as long. They began in the middle of the third century. At that time, the Danes were fighting against the people living in Ju; tland and Fu; nen.

Heruli, from north and east from the north and east. Slowly, they their opponents and neighbors out of their seats; it was not until around 500 that the remnants of Heruvian rule in these regions were destroyed. At the same time, the Saxons had to spread to the south and southwest. For their part, they pressed on Fra; nkish tribes, pushing them before them or dragging them out to sea with . Fresh strength was ready to relieve the tribes that had spent themselves in the struggle with the , against the neighbourhood of decaying civilization.

- H. E. Stier, Westfa; l. Forsch. I 3, 296 f.
- Thorsberg has now been interpreted by H. Jankuhn at the Detmold Conference in 1938 as a tribal shrine of the Angles.

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The also grew into the form of the tribal association with the task they had taken on.

The Germanic world's new agility in the third century was not limited to the political and social sphere.

warfare. The turnover was hardly less strong in trade with Rome.

The routes of Roman trade led to free Germania from all sides, mostly on the tracks of prehistoric roads. Only the Amber Road, which ran from the Danube (Carnuntum) to the Baltic shore, has been preserved in writing. But the river valleys, the finds of Roman coins and Roman goods indicate the direction that the import trade took). The sea trade continued further north: the South Scandinavian rock paintings, the ship from Nydam from the third century and an older one from South Sweden show that the Germanic tribes themselves involved in it. The coin was widely used in Germania, and when the pre-Neronian money was withdrawn in 107, it disappeared in free Germania as well as in the empire.

With the third century the connections ; in some cases they broke off completely. The deterioration of money meant that the Germanic tribes sought to hold on to silver rather than bronze^). The political upheavals and the never-ending wars resulted in a decline in imports from the empire. The traffic on the Amber Road decreased towards the end of the century and the finds within the area decreased accordingly. In Diocletian's edict, the now rare commodity is not mentioned. Only trade via the Rhine continued unabated: Coins of the Gaulish emperors were found as far as the Vistula.

The decline on the one hand caused an increase on other. In the times of the imperial crisis, the Germanic

- O. Brogan, Journ. Rom. stud. 1936, 195f.; cf. also the maps in G. Eckholm, Scandia 10, 161f.; H. J. Eggers, Germania 20, 146f.
- O. Brogan, a. 0. 205 f.

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craft, a sign of growing self-confidence, slowly gained the upper hand. East Prussia already had its own enamel , whose products found their way as far as

Russia^). A development was being prepared which was to reach its in the art of Germanic migration.

3.

The Danube is a historical borderline like the Rhine; it is even more so than this disputed river.

The lands on the lower reaches: Dobruja, Wallachia and Bulgaria, then Siebenbu; rgen, Bessarabia to Ukraine and Galicia - they formed the area of a unified culture since the early Stone Age. It blossomed a nourishing, rural life that drew its from the maternal soil and its willingly grown bounty. Dwelling under rimmed , half by the earth, sleeping on this earth and entrusting their goods and chattels to her, the Tripolje people also the dead unburnt to the great All-Mother, who was the giver and sustainer of life for them. On Bohemian-Moorish soil, this demetric existence found its continuation in the Linear Pottery culture, which extended as far as central Germany and, in the south, down to present-day Bosnia and Serbia. The spirals of the pottery from Butmir in Bosnia, from Ariuschd and Turdasch in Siebenbu; rgen, from Cucuteni in Wallachia - all of these heavy and load-bearing slingers, these broad, dough-like rolls and , decorated with black and red ochre, are an expression of this earthy world of its own pra; .

Hostile waves into this area from the north and east. Originating from harder and poorer , they met in the area of the Tripolje people and the Linear Pottery people. Both waves originated from Indo-Germanic tribes: Illyrians and Germanic tribes approached from the north, the mainly Iranian nomadic horsemen and steppe nomads from the east. In the battle, the sedentary farmers drew the shorter ones. But while the Tripolje people were the 1) 0. Brogan, l. O. 212f.

foreign conquerors, the Linear Pottery people retreated to Austria and the Hungarian basin in order to congregate there in denser masses on rich and fertile soils.

Their opponents also followed them there. As early as the end of the late Stone Age, a layer of Nordic immigrants covered the Linear Pottery population of the Danube lands. In Vinča, east of Belgrade, one can observe their intrusion, but also their rapid disappearance in the mass of . The northerners brought with them a rectangular house and the burning of the dead, but they only held their ground for a short time^). Even before that, Asian cavalrymen seem to have flooded the plains of the lower Danube. Significant parts of the local population emigrated; it is believed that their traces can be followed as far as the Far East^).

At the end of the 13th century, the Illyrians gained world-historical significance for the first time. U@ everywhere you can feel their power, their and their expansion. They became the driving force behind the Aegean migration^). With the Thraco-Phrygians they moved to the south-east, with the Dorians through Greece , and with the Oscian-Umbrian Italics into the Apennine Peninsula. They

were the impetus for this migration and at the same time its bearers. In the East German-Polish region, they founded the Lusatian culture.
But the movement did not there. As the Illyrians penetrated the Danube lands and the German east, they changed from attackers to those who were driven themselves. Slowly they changed to their new role. When the Lusatian culture, which in its heyday reached as far as Silesia, collapsed at the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries, it was the work of new Nordic , once comrades and now opponents of the Illyrians. Germanic and Scythian hordes overran the ramparts.

- C. Schuchhardt, Abh. Berl. Ak. 1937, 4, 10 f.
- L. Bachhofer, Welt als Geschichte 3, 256 f.
- A work by H. Kra; he is to be expected on this. Cf. the announcement in "Geistige Arbeit" 1938, no. 18, If. with which I have agreed in the wording.

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and pallisade castles in which the Lusatians tried to hold on. Like their predecessors, they had to migrate to South Africa. Other Scythian hordes flooded the Danube regions; their well-crafted arrowheads made of bronze and bone can be found as far up as the Siebenbu; rgische Bergland^). Germanic and equestrian tribes had the first time made history together.
The great Celtic migration, coming from the west, laid a new conquering layer over the Alpine countries and the Danube basin. It extended as far as Hungary and Thrace^), perhaps as far as Su;russia^). Then, at the beginning of the second century B.C., a new wave set in. The Scythian power collapsed, like the Cimmerian four centuries earlier. Once again

a nomadic wave from the east to take up the inheritance; the Sarmatians. In Su;russia they clashed with the Germanic Bastarns and Skirs, who had migrated from Silesia, north of the Carpathians and down the Dnieper. For the second time, Germanic power united with that of the equestrian . The wave seemed for a moment to be about to the Danube, as the Bastarns were preparing to intervene in the battles between Rome and Macedonia. Perseus' indecision tm.d Rome's victory put a stop to it.
The Cimbri followed the path of the Bastarns. They were not yet able to penetrate Bo; hmen, which was under the rule of the Celtic Boii. But shortly afterwards the Boian gave way under new Germanic pressure. Marcomanni and Quads took hold in the Bohemian-Ma; hric basin, Hermunduri further west to Fui5. Marbod's empire weighed on Rome for a while like a nightmare, only to collapse rapidly. The Roman power once again stood in the way of further advances. It had advanced all the way to the Danube border; stronger and more consolidated than ever before, it set about erecting a bulwark on this border for centuries to come.

- M. V. Roska, Eurasia Sept. ant. 11, 167f.; on this 0. Floca, Sargetia 1, 57f. U@ on Bulgaria see B. Filow, Eurasia Sept. ant. 11, 203.
- S.Kazarow, C. R. A@ cad. Bulg., sect. hist. 1919, 66; R. Vulpe, Istros 1, 139. ^) M. Rostovtzeff, Ironians and Greeks 146.

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Of necessity, the Nordic advance came to a halt. They remained in the neighborhood of Rome for over 150 years, with warlike conflicts and peaceful

penetration became more and more . The Quads had pushed their seats furthest to the southeast: they reached as far as the plain between the foothills of the Slovakian Carpathians and the Danube. Where the river turns , the great Hungarian plain begins, bordering on the small and large Alfo; ld. It was here that these forerunners of Germanism once again met with the equestrian peoples. It was a meeting in a space filled with history and predetermined for history: a constellation of many who had gone before and others who were to follow.

As a historical area, today's Hungary is defined by opposing areas. O@ east of the Danube, the "great field" stretches far wide. Its cornfields both fill and limit the view. In between, sparse and low duck into the ground, as it were, so as not to the view of this fertile O@ de. Or the Puszta stretches out with its herds horses, cows and bulls; here the herdsman on horseback is the master of the land, alongside the gypsy at best. The Tisza, with its meanders and shallow banks, its marshy shores, is reminiscent of the Irtysh and Ob, of the rivers of Asia^), from which the Magyar people once migrated. It is different south of the Danube. In contrast to the Tisza, the river itself is a brother of the Rhine; it European. On its banks, the mountains rise to height, and in constant ups and downs, in a heathy alternation of , valleys and lakes, of picturesquely situated villages and castles, the old Pannonia unfolds. Not pasture, not cornfield, but vineyard and orchard define its landscape. Extensive farming has been replaced by intensive cultivation , and instead of a "desolate fertility" show artful care and attention. Alfo; ld and Puszta were harbingers of the black

Earth of Russia and the Asiatic steppes, in its a; shape and in the rapid change of climate at the time of day and night^) A. Sauvageot, Decouverte de la Hongrie 25.

the same. Conversely, the aromatic scent of the land and its products, the diversity of the formations, the halcyon splendor that seems to rest over everything, make this Pannonian region appear as a harbinger of Italy. Thereafter, the roles of the two regions were distributed in the course of history. If the nature of Pannonia already pointed to Italy, it was no coincidence that the Romans made this part their own. Dionysus, ruler of Pannonia since ancient times, has survived in numerous depictions right into the Middle Ages. In general, ancient and especially motifs reappeared again and again in the Romanesque and Gothic styles of this country. Even what has been described as the form of Hungarian art: the sense for the round and full, the joy of moderate and beautiful, in painting, sculpture and in the of folk art - it is to a large extent a ro; mish heritage, transmitted through Pannonia. The the bodily and sensual, which was characteristic of ancient art, has been preserved in it.

Conversely, as many nomadic as entered Hungarian land over the centuries, they never settled south and west of the Danube. In the wide expanses of the north, they romped their horses, grazed their herds and set up their changing camps. Scythian and Sarmatian , Huns and Avars left their mark here until the conquest of the Magyars. It was quite something that Arpad forced his own tribe to gain a firm foothold in the Transdanubian land. What came afterwards, the Pechenegs

and Cumans, has once again made itself at home in the endless lowlands between the Tisza and the Danube.
With the occupation of the "small" Alfo; ld, the Marcomanni and Quads had advanced into the area of the riding peoples. In the centuries before the turn of the century, Scythian hordes had nomadized in the Hungarian lowlands; then, as in southern Russia, Sarmatians had emerged as their successors. Their most important tribe were the Jazygians, between the Tisza and the Danube. In everything they were kindred spirits of their Su; drussian mother people: in the rites of their , in their clothing and handicrafts,

in the protection of the horse. Although ro; mish forms intruded^), they remained true to the traditional way. The footstone tomb of Borsahalom contained the body of the deceased in its chamber made of tree trunks, which were covered with countless gold plates in the Scythian-Sarmatian style. Around him lay his jewelry, encrusted with colored stones, the weapons, the slaves offered as a funeral sacrifice. The grave of this nomadic ruler, who was buried here with his , his followers and his horses, is in no way different from one of the kurgans on the Dnieper or the Don.
Slowly, the Germanic began to adopt the forms peculiar the Iranian nomadic . In Marbod's army, the cavalry did not yet make up one twentieth of the whole; as a result, they were content with a troop of foreign Sarmatians. In the second century, a squadron of contarii was stationed against the Quads in the fort of Arrabona (Raab)^). It was armed with

the long lance {contus)^, which was a peculiarity of the Sarmatian and Alanian cavalry^). If the Roman troops made use of the foreign weapon, it was because their Quadian opponents had meanwhile mastered mounted combat with the thrusting lance.
It was only a first step. The Quads also adopted the scale armor made of horn, which is of Asian origin; they adopted the bow and arrow, the agile way of , which allowed those on horseback to advance or retreat in a disguised form^). In the fourth century there was no longer any difference between the Quads and the Sarmatians^): the nomadic way of fighting on horseback had, as it were, these Germanic tribes. Even the Juthimgen, neighbors of the Quades at the beginning of the third century

^) J. Kova; cs, Dolgozatok 5, 120.

^) W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen 30f. The contus was not a javelin, but was to thrust forward: Arrian, tact. 4, 2, this

The "thrusting out" (d?uu; 0eiv) of the lance during the charge was also taught in the older German cavalry regulations.

- Arrian, tact. 4, 2; 7.

*) Arrian, tact. 44, 1, Amm. Marc. 17, 12, If.

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Aurelian to be able to lead forty thousand cavalrymen into battle. Even if this may be an exaggeration, it nevertheless testifies to the importance of the aristocratic cavalry. For they were "not mixed folk or weaklings", as they said, "but pure youths whose fame in equestrian combat is great". They may also have learned ambush and attack as a means of combat from the nomads; this even put the mighty battle emperor in serious danger.

The dragon flag, this Central Asian symbol, was also borrowed from the equestrian nomads; it appeared among the Quads as early as the end of the second century^). All these borrowings were inconceivable without the closest neighborhood and political ties. A new union of the two streams, the Nordic-Germanic and the Eastern-Iranian, was in the offing. It was the third of its kind: the united force had to turn against the bulwark that Rome had erected on the Danube. Arriving on the north bank of the Danube at the same time as the Marcomanni and the Quads, the Jazygians were natural allies of the Germanic tribes. Domitian already had to fight hard against their united power, and with Trajan, as Dacian allies, Germanic Bastarns and Sarmatian in scales, on likewise armored steeds.

Tru; gerian calm ushered the coming storm. The border peoples already seemed to be growing into a clientele relationship with the Roman Empire; Antoninus Pius appointed a king of his choice to the Quades. Then came the turnaround. Under the emperor Marcus, all the states from the Illyrian Limes to Gaul conspired together^). In Ballomar, the Marcomannenko; nig, a second Marbod seemed to have arisen. He united the ancient Hermunduri, Marcomanni and Quads. They were joined by tribes that had not previously been known in this place: Lombards, then Charians, Victuals, Asdings, aUe attributed to the Vandals, and Lakringians, close to them

- J. Dobias, Transact. Intern. Numism. Congr. 1936, 169f.
- A nice confirmation of this sentence of the Marcusvita is given by

J. Dobias, a. 0.169. 77

stens related. The equestrian peoples were also on the scene and they too had received an influx. In addition to Jazygen and Roxolans, who the large plains west and east of the Dacian province^), new names came forward: Kostoboken, Boers and a people we will encounter in another context, the Alans.

What had happened? "Other ", say our sources, "came to the imperial border fleeing from victors living further away, threatening war if they were not taken in". This is the first time that the migration of the Goths casts its shadow over the fate of the empire.

4.

In pre-Christian times, the Goths lived in Sweden. The island of Gotland, Va; ster- and O@ stergotland received the name there. The rock inscription of Himmelstalund^) and the buckle of Vi confirm that even after the emigration, considerable parts of the people remained in their homeland. Like the men of Hengist and Horsa who sailed to Britain, the departing Goths are said to have entrusted their fate to three ships. They reached the Baltic shores by sea. West Prussia formed the center of their territory; the area around the mouth of the Vistula was named after them as the
"Gothic cow" (Gothiscandza)^).
This first step after the Su; den had little impact on the life of the Goths. Their archa; ological legacy is the same on the Vistula as in Sweden. The land also largely resembled the old homeland: a gently undulating hill country, small lakes, mixed forest and light scrubland, all permeated by the heavy sweet smell of harvest herbs. Only that peculiar brightness of the north, which makes the lights appear brighter, the shadows more colorful and in its transparent clarity reminiscent of

- U@on their seats A. Alfo; ldi, CAH. 10, 85 note 3.
- F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, Vom Ursprung der Runen 81 f.

2) R. Much in Th. Hoops, Reallex. germ. Altertumskde. 2, 8. 78
reminiscent of the days of the Spa; therbst, they did not meet again. They were about to exchange the land of bright nights for the boundless plains of the east, the distant view for the .
From the mouth of the Vistula they set out anew. They advanced to Volhynia and PodoHen, aiming for the countries on the Black Sea. It was during this time that the effects of the Marcomannic War became apparent. Other , which, like the Goths, originated from the Scandinavian peninsula, pushed them ahead: the Burgundians to the southwest, the Vandals to Silesia. Everything was on the move. The Semnones, who emigrated to southern Germany, the Chauchen, who pushed across the Lower Rhine, were just as driven as the equestrian peoples, the Lombards and those peoples who emerged for the first time on the Danube alongside the already Germanic .
Eventually, the migrating river reached the Vltava and approached the borders of Rome. Under Commodus, two; eleven thousand Dacians living outside the borders, who had been driven from their homes, were taken in by the province; this is another effect of the migration of the Goths^). The Goths also have gained a foothold in Su;russia at that time. North of Bombay the names of two Goths have come to light on Buddhist inscriptions of the second century^). The train of the great migration had taken them as far as distant India.
The Goths' migration is also reflected in the finds. In the countries around the Baltic Sea, coins of Roman emperors are found.

no rarity^). The number comes from Gotland: it alone comprises two thirds of everything found. The neighboring islands, the Swedish and Norwegian mainland follow at a long distance. The chronological distribution presents an

even more pronounced picture. The large coin hoards, sometimes containing over a thousand denarii, were

^) Dio 72, 3, 3 according to a conjecture by C. Daicovicius.

2) Doubts in W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India

257 note 2. ^) On the following H. Shetelig-H. Falk, Scandinavian Archeology 201 f.

The Roman Empire began with the Emperor Marcus, i.e. at the moment the pressure of the Gothic movement became palpable and the Goths entered the wider ban of the Roman Empire. The neighboring regions: East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and Southwest Russia confirm the result with their finds. The Gothic runic inscription on the spearhead of Kowel proves that Gothic parts were still located south of the Pripet around 200; the relationship of their symbols to Pontic signs proves that they had simultaneously gained a foothold on the north side of the Black Sea^).

With Caracalla, the ro; mish mu; nts found in southern Sweden and eastern Europe came to a sudden end. This is no more a coincidence than their beginning under Marcus. Already in the last years of Septimius Severus, the strong fortification of the Dacian northern and north-western border began. Dilapidated fortifications were built 2) and the earthworks transformed into stone ones. Just as the same measures on the Rhine and Main, such as the construction of the Ra; tian Wall, coincided with Caracalla's Alamanni War and the presence of the emperor, so too there. He himself appeared in the front line: in 213 he was in Porolissum, the main bulwark of Upper Dacia^).

The Goths had already reached the border. According to U@ tradition, Caracalla was the first to war with the Goths.

This tradition has been doubted, but for bad reasons^) and against the evidence of the archaeological finds. The picture presented by the mu; nz hoards of northern and Europe continues in Moldavia, i.e. on the eastern border of the Dacian province^). Two hoards have been found in Baca; u, whose imperial coins break off again with Caracalla^). In neighboring Sascut, almost a thousand denarii were raised, this time only up to Commodus

- H. Amtz, Runendenkma; ler 22 f.
- E. Panaitescu, Bull. Sect. Hist. 15, 81 f.; C. Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans Vantiquite 73.
- C. Daicoviciu, l.c. O. 73 note 2 according to an inscription which he will soon publish.

I have tried to show this in detail in Germanien 1939, 49 f. ^) The following is based on information from C. Daicoviciu.

6)M. Macrea, An. Instit. Studii Ciasice Cluj. 1, 131f.; he is already thinking (l.c. 132) of the Goths.

reach^). Even further south lies Poiana, which has a Gothic runic inscription^). It contains an undoubtedly Gothic word and cannot be dated than the year 200^).

Around this time, parts of the Gothic people were already living in Vltava. Caracalla's Gothic campaigns thus gained a new confirmation. And further to the west - in today's Judiciary Ciuc, still within the mountain rampart - there was a fortified center of resistance of the Carps^). They were the Goths' given allies, and Caracalla also war with them.

The Carpathians and Goths overran the Danube border together.

5.

The Gothic invasion the Su; drussian area meant less overthrow than further development of inherited forms by new . Germanic influence had long since taken hold on both sides of the Dnieprum in the wake of the Bastarns and Skiren^); here the Goths were able to take hold. For the rest, they have the life

^) G. Severeanu, Bucuresti 2, 218 f.

- Verf., Germanien 1939, 49f.; the runes of Fa; lticeni mentioned there have since been proven to be fa; lschungen; cf. A. Ferenczi, Siebenbu; rg. Vierteljahrsschr. 60, 169f. (reference by C. Daicoviciu and H. Arntz).
- Germanien 1939, 52f. I had interpreted the signs 4- 9 as got. tawida "I made". Sign 8 with its two u; semicircles lying on top of each other I had addressed as d "until proven otherwise". H. Arntz (by letter), referring to the urn of Niesdrowitz (Amtz-Zeiß, D. einh. Runendenkm. 45), draws my attention to the fact that pala; ographically a j is more likely to be assumed. The reading tawija instead of tauja has its in prawijan instead of Praujan on the stone of Tanum: W. Krause, Runeninschr. im alt. Futhark 85f. No. 49; 238; but cf. also the different interpretation A. Noreens, Altisl. u. altnorw. Gramm.* 389, No. 76. One must either assume that tawija is the Rhaetian spelling fu; r tauja. Or to regard tawija as an older phonetic form, long before the fixation of the Gothic literary language by Wulfila; cf. H. Jellinek, Gesch. d. got. Spr. 66 § 62,4 (notes by J. Weisweiler).

*)Below p. 98f.

^) According to the testimony of the Protogenes inscription (B. Latyschew, Inscr. ant. or. septentr. Ponti Eux. 1, No. 16) Z. 108f.; in addition F. Sta; helin, Festschrift Th. Plu; ß 50; 56f.; E. Norden, Die german. Vorgesch. in Tac. Germania 79 note 4; H. Jacobsohn, Zeitschr. f. dt. Altert. 66, 236.

forms that had existed on the shores of the Black Sea since ancient times. What's more, they adopted these forms and developed them further.

After the Su; drussian port cities had fallen into the hands of the Goths, access to the sea was open to them. The advance against the Roman borders on land could be supplemented by one at sea. There was no lack of role models. Even under Marcus Aurelius, the Dacian tribe of the Kostoboks had broken through to central Greece, where they had laid the Eleusraic sanctuary in ashes. The invasion on land had been accompanied by a raid by sea; in association with other tribes of northern Pontus, the Kostobokian ships sailed through the

Bosporus \md berried on the shores of the Propontis, probably also on the coasts of the Mediterranean^). The great Gothic invasion of Kniva led to a new maritime raid under Decius' successor Trebonianus Gallus, which was against Cappadocia and inner Galatia. Some of these pirates invaded the Aegean and raided the area around Ephesus^). In the following year, already under Valerian's reign, the Borans, presumably a Sarmatian tribe, attempted a new advance from the Maeotis. The inhabitants of the Bosporan , which had been abandoned by the Roman crews and at their mercy, forced them to provide ships. The enterprise failed due to the courageous attitude of the city of Pityus and its Ro; mish

commander, but was renewed the next year. This time the Borans succeeded in persuading the Goths, their comrades from the Danube that had gone before, to join them^). This was the first time that Germanic tribes appeared on the southern sea, still led by a Sarmatian tribe and on the ships of the Bosporans. The tremendous success of the venture spurred the Goths living on the Dniestr

- A. V. Premerstem, KHo 12, 145f.; RE 11, 1505f.; but cf.

A. M. D. Parker, op. O. 316 n. 57.

- Zos., 1, 28, 1; different from 1, 31, If.
- Zos., 1, 27, 1; 31, 1. U@ on the participation of the Goths cf. the letter of Gregorios Thaumaturgos to Lykos: Migne, Patrol, Graeca 10, 1037f.; Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol. 7, 730f.; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, The Goths in the Crimea 4f.

to their own efforts. The invasion of the year 256^), which directed against the Danube estuary, was accompanied by a raid from the sea. Prisoners of war and foreign merchants had to take over shipbuilding. The starting point was Tyras at the mouth of the river itself.

Before into the Black Sea, Dniestr flows into a deep bay. The ancient city, by the Milesians in the seventh century, was located on the south side of this "liman" on high banks. The citizens of Tyras traded with the natives: ships traveled up to 400 km upriver to exchange Greek craftsmanship for Su; drussian grain. This is why Demeter appears on the coins of Tyras in the A@ hrenkranz. The Romans had strongly fortified the area of the city. Their ramparts and entrenchments stretched from the Pruth to the Dniestr, below Bender; vexillations of three legions had at the walls of the city itself

worked^). Nevertheless, it was lost to the Goths in the turmoil of the year of Maximin's death.

The stronghold had thus fallen into the hands of Rome's most dangerous enemy. The excellent harbor, which had attracted the Ionian sailors and would later entice the Genoese to settle there, was to the Goths. They did not hesitate to exploit their success. They repeated their , often year after year, and extended them not only across Asia Minor, but all the way down to the Peloponnese. Soon the newly arrived Heridians them with their own fleets.

On one of these occasions, they struck a blow that was painfully echoed throughout the ancient world. In 262, the Goths Thrace and Macedonia, besieged Thessalonica and advanced on Athens, which had not seen an enemy outside its walls since the time of Sulla. From there

- The dating according to an essay by A. Alfo; ldi, which will appear in the journal "Berytus"'. Zos. 1, 35, 2 counts this move of the Borans' Germanic neighbors as a "second", although he does not a "first". Thus his source, Dexippos, already knew of a previous enterprise of the Goths: a welcome confirmation of the message of Gregorios Thaumaturgos (cf. the previous note).
- P. Nicorescu, ^cac?. Roman., Mem. Sect. Ist, 1937, 217f.

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they broke into Asia Minor. They raided the ancient sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus, the ornament of the entire ; the temple front of the city was and . The Didymeion of Miletus was also besieged by the invaders, but defended by a wall. Apollo himself, it was known

sent up a spring and saved those trapped in the temple from thirst. So the Goths had to leave. The cities of Ephesus and Miletus themselves remained unmolested; the Asiarch Markarios had organized the defence here^).

The northern Germanic tribes had comrades of the Pontic peoples, who had seafaring and sea robbery in their blood. And yet for the Goths, growing into a foreign form ultimately only meant the revival of their own. They had become from the sea on their southeastward migration, but what seemed forgotten was reawakened first touch. They had once reached the mouth of the Vistula by sea, and the same sea had given their Scandinavian homeland name.

O@ stergo; tland's granite peaks, its meadows and do not determine the nature of the landscape as much as the sea. It present everywhere, as a salty scent and as a shining streak on the horizon; you feel it even where it is hidden from view. On the edges of the A@ cker, man has always entrusted his heart to the glacier-smoothed rocks. His heads, his , the symbols of the sun and its course, and again and again: the sea with its shiffs. When God created heaven and earth, says a Swedish proverb, he forgot So; dermanland. Between these fjords and skerries, the inhabitants' minds had to turn to shipping and sea robbery of their own accord. Thus the images of the elongated "keels" with their towering, strangely shaped sterns cover the rocks in endless repetition. This art had not yet died out^) when the Goths moved towards Su; den and Su; dosten

- Th. Wiegand, Achter, vorl. Ber. u; ber die Ausgrab, in Milet und Didyma (Abb. Berl. Akad. 1924) 21f.; further literature in O. Kern, Relig. d. Griecb. 3, 274 note 2.

- F. Altbeim and E. Trautmann, op. cit. O.

81 f. 84

u; over the sea. And they were powerfully drawn back this sea as soon as it appeared before their eyes in their new homeland.

A@ similar path was taken by the Gothic land conquest itself. When they arrived in the South under their king Fihmer, the Goths referred to their new homeland as the land of the "meadows" after its meadows and water-rich drifts. The impression of the landscape was reflected in the tribal names. As early as the third century, the people as a whole were divided into the Ostrogoths or Greutungen and the Wisen or Terwingen. Greutungen^) - these are the inhabitants of the field, i.e. the area that merged completely or partially with the "Auen": the open plain of eastern Su;strußland. Terwingen, on the other hand, means forest dwellers: this refers to the forest regions of the west between the Danube estuary and the Dniestr. Even under the Scythians, the land was divided into that of the farming tribes and that of the forest"); this same contrast recurs among the Su; drussian Slavs at the beginning of their history. Here the Goths grew into given forms of long duration^).

The aristocratic landowners of the Bosporan Empire had their lives depicted on the walls of their tombs. There you can see the nomad tent in which the rich landlord has to spend the summer on his . His wife, child and servants are gathered next to the tent: he himself is riding towards them, followed by a servant, also on horseback, with

1) U@ on the relationship between Visi-Vesi and Visigothae- Vesegothae see P. Kretschmer, Glotta 26, 231 f. The age of the tribal names has often been doubted. However, if the Goths only took part in the migration from 255 into eastern Asia Minor

driven by the Borans, who also live to the east, but then 256 have their starting point in Tyras to the west, so

2^ If^^^ this already presupposes a separation into an eastern and western group.) MuUenhoff in the glossary of Th. Mommsen's Jordanes edition MGH. auct. ant 5, 1 p. 113; on the geographical setting Jord. 4, 27 and 5, 39; Filimer is Ko; mg in the Scythian country on the Maeotis.

• Herodotus knows the Hylaia in the mouth of the Borysthenes-Dniepr (4, 18). To the west of it live the "" Scythians as far as the Hypanis-Bug (4, 17), to the east the arable Scythians (4, 18); see K. Kretschmer, RE 3 A, 929f

} An essay by F. Specht is to be expected on this subject; I owe him all the essentials. On the "Greutungental" Amm. Marceil. 31, 3, 5 cf. Schmidt, Gesch. d. dt. Sta; mme 1\ 101 f. It probably formed the western border of the area; then, in deviation from Herodotus, the forest areas meant the lines between the Carpathians and Dniestr.

Hand horse. Both master and servant are armed, for it is necessary to the land and the serfs who cultivate it against the constant attacks of raider neighbors. In other paintings, the noble landowner appears in such a battle: with scale armor, conical helmet and long mounted lance armed goes he against a sarmatian archer and an also armored horseman. A retinue of foot soldiers, formed from his own peasants, follows him with shield and spear. These funerary frescoes reflect the fate of

the Pantikapaion culture, whichsince the second century B.C. to a Hellenistic-Iranian mixed culture.

had become^). The Sarmatians began to exert a lasting influence everywhere. The Bosporan landowners had largely adapted to their neighbors and opponents in their way of life and armament. Fixed forms emerged. They did not when the Goths succeeded them, nor when the took their place^). A semi-nomadic way of life was thus established; the once sedentary nobility of the Goths became accustomed to spending the summer out in the fields and steppes, in tents and away from permanent housing. Here Gothic existence began to with that of their neighbors, the Alans.

This people once lived between the Don and the Volga, north of the Caucasus. A large part remained in their homeland, where they later clashed with the Huns, forming a of arms with them. Other parts had advanced westwards, sometimes as far as the Danube, and had subjugated the areas that had once to the Sarmatians. The immigrating Goths got along with the new rulers: both together established their rule over the anciently existing class of and nomadic backers, as the Scythians and their Sarmatian successors had done before them^). The Alans retained the nomadic way of life they had inherited and soon began to a spell over the Goths as well.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Monum. Piot 6, 137 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 210 f.
- Cf. H. Dumitrescu, Istros 1, 133 f.

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Other powers now entered the lives of these Goths. As long as they were Scandinavian peasants, the plant could also determine their lives. Now they encountered a

culture in which the animal has always and exclusively ruled.

The Germanic tribes did not lack the animal experience per se. But where it took hold of their minds, it was primarily the aggressive predator that they as a model for their own fighting. The masks of the Germanic warriors made him appear as a bull or boar, bear or wolf; the decoration of the helmet and shield could refer to the same animals. The Nordic berserker was also able to take on animal forms, to transform himself into the very animals that Germanic beings as their role models and counterparts because of their and combativeness. Their martial strength was derived from them, the crushing attacks that the Romans compared to the impotence of wild predators. For these fighters with the bull's horns on their helmets, the wolf's mouth open above their heads, even

want to be "bulls" and "wo; lves". With threatening , warlike , with gnashing of teeth and rage, they pounced on the enemy^).

In any case, the artistic ecstasy has been part of the Nordic form since time immemorial^). Anyone who denies it has nothing of the spirit of the Swedish land: of the intoxicating beauty of its lakes and forests, of the enchanted world called Bohusla; n. The Norse rock carvings, these oldest witnesses of Germanic nature, are filled with battle and warrior-like character. A granite

slab near Litsleby shows a lance wielder of more than usual , surrounded by animals and ships. The limb of this warrior (whether he was a god or a human hero) stretches out mightily: A symbol of his sacrificial ecstasy, not of his fertility, as has been thought. It is precisely this ecstatic, a da; monic and un

- Ammianus' description of the Alamanni and Gothic battles, especially the Battle of Adrianople, provides evidence for this.
- The works of O. Ho; fler and M. Nincks are fundamental. Further remarks in F. R. Schro; der, Germ.-Rom. Monatsschr. 1938, 97f.

87

The god Wodan's nature and his nature made him what he is; they are even expressed in his name.

As a Germanic heritage, the Goths will also have possessed an of animal nature and the ecstatic way of that was inseparable from it. This is where Germanism and equestrianism met; they met only to part ways. For the Teutons, attack, close combat, and facing the enemy are the virtues of the hero, whereas the fighting style of the nomadic warriors does not know such exclusive valuation. , ambush and surprise, disguised escape, elimination from a distance - these are the means that are used with preference. It is not so much in the image of the aggressive beast as in animalistic flight and pursuit, in opposition to predators and the hunted, in speed and cunning, that the nomad's warlike existence presents itself. Both are constantly changing shape: if one wants to escape as a dove, the opponent grabs him as an eagle; if he flees in fish form, the enemy catches him as a pike^). Like the game of fugitive and pursuer, such constant change is alien to the Germanic nature.

The equestrian tribes also wanted to depict animals: , wolverines, beasts or other bloodthirsty, defensive predators. The western troops carried a golden wolf's head at the top of their banner. Elsewhere the

stag in the same place^), and some named themselves after their animal. These phenomena are often linked to a legend of ancestry that speaks of animal ancestors. The transition from human to animal is not an exceptional case, as in the case of berserkers or werewolves, nor does it only take place in a frenzy of battle and bloodlust, but is constant and without a fixed law. In animal transformation, the shaman ia ascends to the seventh heaven or descends into the underworld; the supreme god flew around as a goose when he created the world. Even with similar people, it often only takes a magic word to bring about an immediate transformation.

- A. Alfo; ldi, Arch. Anz. 1931, 399f; K. Kerenyi, Mnemos. 1939, 161f.
- A. Salmony, Euras, Sept. antiq. 10, 54 f.

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Fig. 17 Female polo player. China, Wei or Tang (p. 26).

Fig. 18 Karpenburg von Schimleul Marc, Judiciary Ciuc (p. 98f.).

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Abb. 21. Tigris bei Assur (S. 107).

Abb. 22. Stadthügel von Assur. In der Mitte die Reste der Zikkurat (S. 107).

Abb. 23. Blick auf den Karawanenhof. Hatra (S. 109).

Abb. 24. Hauptpalast, Hatra (S. 109).

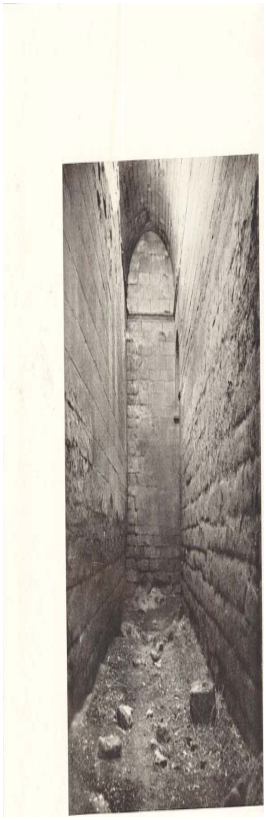

Fig. 25 Sun temple, Hatra (p. 108).

Everywhere animal existence is able to slip back into human existence and vice versa. The unconscious, almost inevitable migration of these states can only be explained by

from the animal. Like flocks of migratory birds or wandering fish, they set off for unknown destinations, driven by dark . Occasionally encounter armies, da; monic natures that sweep the masses away, in them unconditional loyalty; but side by side with them appears the leadership of the animal. Wolf and deer are the leaders of the migrations of Central Asian ; a go; ttHche Hinde, luring Hunnish hunters behind her, them and their entire people towards a new homeland. It is the breadth of the animal experience that separates the nomad from the Teuton. It becomes clear when one turns to the forms of nomadic existence.

"Once upon a time there was a young man," begins a tale of the Arctic nomads, "who set out to hunt reindeer. But he had his own way of hunting: he

only pursued the reindeer without killing them. He would track them, chasing after them inconspicuously; he would turn up again and again when they tried to escape him. In the end, the animals were so exhausted that they could no longer avoid him. They got used to his smell, his clothes and his voice; they were no longer afraid of him." One day he brought himself a wife, whom he married, and then they both lived life as he was accustomed to: "He always followed the reindeer he had once tired. He was wise in his dealings with them, and as he never frightened them or hunted them unno; tiger-like, he was soon able to his tent with the herds. He became a man who lived entirely from tame reindeer. Thus was born the first reindeer ."
The fairy tale is accompanied by an ancient description^). "The Alans," it says, "have no , nor do they use the plow. Rather, they use

of meat and abundant milk, dwell on their carts, which they cover with a roof.

- Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 18f. On the typicality of the description: M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, 73; 103f.; A. Alfo; ldi, Gnomon 9, 565. Without here on the question of this "typicality", it should be emphasized that I, too, am only concerned with the general .

They use them to move through the endless steppe. When they reach a grazing area, they bring their carts together in a circle and herd themselves like wild animals; once the grass has been grazed, they move on with their community on wagons. Man and woman unite on the cart, the offspring are born and raised. It is their permanent residence and no matter where they wander, it is always home to the Alans. They drive the cattle before them, with the herds they look for their food. They devote great care to horse breeding. In their land, the soil always fresh growth and from time to time they come to places where trees give them fruit. This allows them to move everywhere, because there is no shortage of food and fodder, both of which grow in sufficient quantities thanks to the moisture of the soil and the abundant rivers."
Both reports are written from different points of view. The reindeer nomad tells of the origins of what constitutes his life; he with expertise, out of good company. Conversely, the ro; mer describes in amazement a world to which he does not , but which has confronted him in a hostile, incomprehensible way. In the one case it is about racing animals and Lappkota, in the other about cattle, horses and

covered wagon. And yet both accounts have this in common: the dependence of man, his way of life and species, on the animal. They receive everything from the animal: skin for clothing, meat and milk for food and drink. The animal determines the pace of migration, the type of dwelling; human life is regulated according to its .
The Alans were dominated by horse breeding. The Sarmatian and Alanian breed was ; in an inscription, the emperor Hadrian praised his deceased favorite horse, the 'Borysthenes Alanus Caesareus Veredus', who 'flew' with him the and of Tuscany. What came to light with the Parthians is repeated with

the Alans: only the possession of the horse and its experience made the man what he was. For him, it was the prerequisite and expression of a master race that saw the world as its own prey.
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Next to the nomad and horseman is the hunter. For him, too, the animal is the norm of his existence and not just prey; he also receives everything from it: clothing and food. Hunting animals are the donors and benefactors of humans; by force of magic or voluntarily, they surrender to those who need them. In distant seas, so an Arctic fisherman's tale tells us, the gray fish, the salmon, dwell - en masse, so that a boat can only pass through with difficulty. From there they set off for the people, good and willing, so that they never lack prey.
The 'animal style' was the formal expression of the nomadic way of life. As old as the appearance of the equestrian peoples in southern Europe, it first came with the Scythians and their Cimmerian predecessors from Central Asia. The Sarmatians brought a new wave with them from their homeland: a powerful and yet highly refined art was distinguished from the older styles by its colorfulness.

distinguished. Weapons and equipment, silver and gold plates were decorated with colorful stones. Bar ends with animal , depictions of fighting and persecuted animals, the hind and the wolverine, the elk and the wo; lfish progenitor everywhere. The animal symbolism appears belt buckles and strap tongues, bracelets and badges, felt appliqués and wool embroidery from the northern Balkans to the borders of China.
It was a new world that confronted the Goths. Receptive to the foreign, as they were - their spa; ter behavior towards ancient culture proves it to be a pleasure - they could not escape the impression. Access to the center of nomadic existence, to the animal, was given to them by the Germanic animal experience. The Goths did not close themselves off to what was new to them; they it, transforming and reshaping it.
Gothic craftsmanship immediately came under the influence of the Su; drussian metal art, which could look back on high age. Filigree and granulation, applied carnelians can already be found in Gothic cemeteries in Silesia and on the Muresch. Once they arrived in Su;russia, the Goths adopted the colorful eggshells that characterized Sarmatian goldsmithing.
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They covered the gold of their buckles and brooches with wine-red almandines. Depictions of animals only became the dominant form after our time. The Germanic preference for the play of intertwined lines was combined with the style of the nomads to a new and promising design: Germanic animal ornamentation.

The change in external form corresponded to a change in internal form. It was only in Su;russia that the Goths became the great movers and shakers that they remain in history. Their restlessness and wanderlust were the terror of their Roman neighbors. Ammianus knew no better way to praise Aurelian's

greatness and his victory over the Goths than to say that the terrible enemy had remained 'immobile' for a century.

Because of U@ bervo; lkerung, these Goths left their seats on the Baltic shores; they moved out in search of new farmland. But unlike the West Germanic tribes, they did not stay on their conquered plaice for long. They soon appeared as prey seekers and wanderers, traveling in covered wagons. The way of life of the Alans, who were at home with carts and chariots, had set the example; already under Gordian the Goths fought together with the equestrian tribes against the Romans. When Gallienus attacked the Goths and Heruli on their retreat from Greece, their chariot castle saved them from annihilation. An entrenchment of wagons also formed the rear of the army of the Goths during the battles with Emperor Claudius; it still did so in the battles of the year 378. St. Ambrose could say of the people who had become Christian that the chariot now served them as a church, just as it previously served them as a home.

The horse took its place alongside the chariot; it penetrated all areas of life and did not even stop at death. The funeral the hero was celebrated by horsemen. Attila's corpse was circled by exuberant horsemen: they circled it as if in a circus and sang the dead man's praises in their own song. Then they celebrated a huge feast on the tomb, mixing joy with mourning for the dead. Our guardian speaks of

Huns and Hunnic custom, but the name of the feast is Gothic^). The Germanic tribes also knew the price of the deceased, the ride around the grave:

"Then the heroes rode around the hill two; lf Edelingsso; hne all
together.
Wanted to lament sorrow, remembering the king, to utter words, to
speak well of him.
They praised his manhood and glorified his heroic work"

- it says in the. Song of Beowulf. From one of the riders of

Sarmatians or Alans, not only from the Huns - the Goths have received the Umritt. They passed it on to the Germans and Anglo-Saxons as a Germanic custom.

Necessarily, these Goths had to take over the protection of the cavalry from their nomadic neighbors.

Sarmatians and Alans were considered cowardly in foot combat, but their attack in closed squadrons was irresistible. Men and horses stalked in armor made of iron plates or thick leather; wielded their long lances and swords with both from the saddle when they charged at the enemy with the cry Marah! Marah! the enemy.

If Claudius' foot soldiers were powerless against the Goths, if horsemen were needed to master the enemy,^) even then Gothic strength lay in the mounted troops. Alongside the Huns, it was the Goths and Alans, after whose example the Roman cavalry was re-formed and raised to greater strength. Gothic arrows were feared for their mass and accuracy; the nomadic way of fighting had also been adopted^). They did not hesitate to include the Iranian horsemen in their own ranks. Through

- strava Jord, Get. 49 after Priskos. Cf. H. Jacobsolm, AfdW. 42 (1923), 88. The fixed terminology shows that the custom was a; lter. I am indebted to G. Baesecke, who also wrote the translation of the Beowulf verses, for his view and evidence.
- Zosim. 1, 45, 2.

^) Veget., epit. 1, 20. Since the Gothic armor only took effect when the Roman infantry discarded their helmets and armor under Gratian, it already existed before that; the events at Decius' death are additional evidence.

Alans, the Visigothic cavalry was to bring about the decision in the Battle of Adrianople. "Like lightning," says a contemporary, "it drove among the enemy; everything that came in its way during the rapid onslaught was ridden down." And "like lightning" Kniva had already blown apart Decius' army at Beroia^).

In the fourth century, the Pannonian Danube front was increasingly equipped with cavalry^). In addition to the Sarmatians and Quads, this measure was also directed against the Vandals, who were on the imperial border there. Among them, the importance of the cavalry was in no way inferior to that of the Goths. When Aurelian forced the tribe to enlist, he selected 2000 horsemen because this weapon was the most effective. In the Tisza plain, the Vandals sat together with the Alans, who had advanced westwards. Both tribes also stuck together in their future destinies; the greatest Vandal ruler was also to bear the title of of the Alans. When his African empire collapsed under Geiserich's weak successors, a defeat of the cavalry was enough to the end. It had become the only weapon that counted.

The Vandals confirmed the image that the Goths had offered. The East Germanic way has taken decisive influxes from nomadism of the countries around the Black Sea. Has Germanism thus given itself up? We do not believe so. In navigation and in the animal experience it itself offered the starting points: what was going on in the Southeast was a penetration of its own with nomadic nature. The wandering instinct, the wandering into the distance were also Germanic heritage: the Cimbri and Teutons crossed half of Europe; they also knew the caravan and the wagon castle. And whole areas of Germanic nature remained untouched by the foreigner.

It was not the bravery of the individual man that made the Sarmatians and the Alans hostile to the Romans. What they feared was the deployment of closed squadrons, the impenetrable

- Jord.,Ge". 102.
- A. Alfo; ldi, Der Untergang der Ro; merherrscli. in Pannonien 1, 89f.

of the tanks, were U@ assault and disguised flight. Conversely, the Goths never gave up their inherited appreciation of heroic single combat: their last king, Teja, fell in the front line. And where there is no heroism, there is no

legend and no formative memory. The nomads were and remained a world without history; they lived in immediate and present action. In contrast, Cassiodorus, when he wrote the history of the Goths, was able to draw on a rich and untold tradition. He had his disposal king lists, historical research and a well-developed treasure trove of legends. This U@ tradition was largely , but it need not be

to have been exclusive. In contrast to the nomads, who were not only a people without a history but also without a written language, the Goths brought their native runes with them to the Southeast. There they were able to create a new alphabet and the first Germanic written language. And finally, one last thing. The wandering tribes never succeeded in founding a state worthy of the name. While the Gothic kingdoms on soil also bear witness to the Germanic will to create.

6.

On the north-western corner of Dacia, the camp of Porolissum stood as a monument to power. Built on a high plateau of the Maresch Mountains, it dominated the nearby pass saddle and the for miles around thanks to its excellent strategic position. An earth rampart and two smaller forts covered the flank; stone walls of considerable width and thickness, equipped with towers, were advanced: they prevented the attacker, covered by the ravines and cracks of the mountains, from sneaking up. The advance area had been shaved, even the pre-Roman fortress on the Magura hill had been razed; the slowly rising terrain often offered an excellent field of fire. The Orient arrows, which part of the camp's garrison, were able to bring their weapons to bear here. Sta; dti

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sckes life began to develop early, under the protection of the facilities^). Porolissum formed the corner bastion of Dacia, which itself a bastion on the Danube border. On both sides ran the "Dacian Limes": east to the Somesch, south to Micia^) on the Muresch, the

in turn the Banat with a fortified chain of posts. This limes did not consist of ramparts and ditches, but of a chain of watchtowers and forts that blocked the passages through the mountains^). The Somesh line was also secured; some of the camps were advanced northwards across the river. A series of blocking forts, all located within the ridge, covered the Carpathian front. South of it, in Little Wallachia, a defensive line running directly west of the 01t established the connection with the Danube front^).

At the beginning of the third century^) a second, advanced limes was built east of the 01t. Alongside the Dobruja, the Wallachian plain was a gateway and transit area all peoples from the north towards the Danube and the Moesian provinces. The area itself was not included in the imperial borders, but was monitored from the Danube estuary and Siebenbu; rgen. As a strategic apron of the two Moesias, it had once been administered from these provinces^). It remains significant that Great Wallachia was never allowed to become direct

imperial territory; it to develop a strong defensive position on the 01t. The contrast between Alfo; ld and Pannonia was repeated (above p. 74f),

^) Thanks to Gu; te C. Daicovicius, the author was able to visit the excavations in progress in August 1938.

- C. Daicoviciu, Ann. Com. Monum. Ist., Transylv., 1930, If.
- C. Daicoviciu, Ann. Inst. Stud. Clas. Cluj 2, 254f. and German excerpt 302f. *) U@ on Dacia'military organization see C. Patsch, Sitz. Ber. Vienna. Ac.

217, 1, 137f.; V. Christescu, Istor. milit. a Daciei Rom. 115f.; on this U. Kahrstedt, Go; tt. gel. Anz. 1938, 69f.; C. Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans Vantiquite 44 f.

5) E. Komemann, Klio 7, 105; V. Christescu, l.c. O. 124; C.

Daicoviciu, a. 0. 44;

V. Christescu, Istros 1, 75 f. ®) C. Daicoviciu, Ann. Inst. Stud. Clas. Cluj 2, 302; La Transylvanie etc. 39.

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this time in the area of the lower Danube. Dacia was a fertile mountainous country with sedentary ; its wide valleys and mines offered all the conditions for the development of a urban civilization. Conversely, the Wallachian lowlands, like the Alfo; ld, formed a part of the South Russian-Asian steppe, directly connected to it by the valleys of the Pruth and Dniestr. The vast , stretching evenly to the horizon, crisscrossed by winding and marshy rivers, was a land made for all nomadic and equestrian peoples. U@ their traces can be found everywhere, right up to the Carpathian foothills (Odobeschti and Poiana-Prahova). The Romans have never tried to gain a permanent foothold.

A similar contrast unfolds in the land to the right of the Danube estuary. The interior of Dobruja is a steppe without trees or shrubs. Midsummer transforms it into a tanned O@ de. Lonely ospreys circle above the lagoons; only the large herds interrupt the of the landscape. In ancient times, this land was called Little Scythia. It has always been inhabited by members of the equestrian peoples; their only legacy, the kurgans, stand out from the horizon here and there.

On the coast, the picture already changes . Vivid pink and silver-white tones, sometimes of

pale yellow, mingle with the changing blue of the sea. Greek settlements lined up here: DionysopoHs, Kallatis, Tomis and further north, by the Mu; esians: Histria. It was situated on an island, not far from what was then the main branch of the Danube, which flowed into Lake Razelm. In Roman times, the city, which like all others had been given its independence^), had blown up considerably and encroached on the neighboring mainland. It was thanks to the course of the Danube and Histria that the border was further north and included the steppe. A later period, as the course of the middle Trajan's Wall (stone wall with forts) shows^), left it outside.

^) Bas foedus with Kallatis is found again: S. Lambrino,

C. R. de VAcad.
des inscr. 1933, 278f. 2) C. Schuchardt, Abh. Berl. Ak. 1918, no. 12, 22f.; 44f.; 61f. (chronology).
See now R. Syme, Amer. Journ. Philol. 1937, 15f. 7
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Moldavia and Wallachia offered themselves as a natural bed for a movement of peoples coming from the north and northeast towards the Danube. It certainly had to Dacia. But the main pressure did not hit the west, where the cities and gold mines were located and where the two legions were garrisoned to protect them. In the north too, the strong position around Porolissum fended off the attack. The eastern part of the country and the Wallachian limes east of the Olt^) were also at risk.
The attackers were initially the Carpathians, a Dacian tribe^) who lived on the Danube delta, the Sereth and Pruth rivers. The Gothic advance partly these Carpathians before them and partly swept them away. Already under CaracaUa

they caused trouble for the Romans^). Subsequently they invaded Dacia and lower Moesia together with their Germanic neighbors. Attack and resistance were equally fierce, but in 242 the line of resistance o; stHch the 01t had to be abandoned and moved back to the river^).
From the beginning, the self-confidence of the Carpathians was very evident. Under the emperor Gordianus III they demanded annuities from TuUius Menophilus, the governor of Lower Moesia. They claimed that what granted to the Goths was to them as the stronger ones. Under PhiHppus Arabs, they penetrated deep into Dacia; for a moment, it seemed as if they would have to give up the Seven-Bu; rgian highlands.
The emperor was quickly on the spot. Beaten by his excellent Moorish cavalry, the enemy threw himself into a strong position. The Dacian castles of the Hunedoara^) (Costeschti and the surrounding area), which caused the Romans much trouble during the conquest of the country. Such castles also existed on the eastern edge of Siebenbu; rgen, where the homeland of the Carpathians lay. This part of the country was not occupied right up to the edge of the mountains.

- C. Daicoviciu, op. cit. O. 33f.; 72f.
- V. Pa; rvan, Getica 41; 225; 239f.; 744; 746.
- CIL. 14416; most recently E. Stein, RE 10, 761.

*) V. Christescu, Istros 1, 73f.; C. Daicoviciu, op. O. 73.
5)M. Teodorescu, An. Com. Mon. Ist.^Transylv. 1923, 7f.; 1930-31, 45f.; O. Floca, Ghidul ludetului Hunedoara 195f.; 201f.; further literature in C. Daicoviciu, op. cit. O. 27 note 1.
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The forts were located inside and below the ridge^), with the exception of the fortifications that protected the Oitosch Pass^). In this area free of Roman occupation, north of the basin of Ha; romszek, there were

the Carpathian center of resistance^). The last and decisive battle was fought around one of its castles^).
After the Carpathians had been driven out, the economy of the province was in serious decline and never recovered^). PhiHppus did what he could: he had work done on the road network and fortified Romula on the east line^). However, towards the end of his reign, he withdrew the mobile troops of the one Dacian legion from the province to protect ItaHen and himself. The troops were transferred to Aquileia7); a development began that was to continue under GalHenus to the detriment of the borderlands.
The force of the attack now turned towards the lower Danube. In 248, the Goths took advantage of Pacatianus' revolt and, embittered by the refusal of the tribute granted to them under Gordianus III, invaded the lands south of the Danube estuary. Carpians, Peucines and Vandanian Asdians followed them; Argaithus and Gunthericus are named as their leaders. Histria, then probably an open city, fell victim to them^); it was destroyed and remained uninhabited until Probus' time. The other coastal cities fared no differently; it was only at the stronghold of Marcianopolis that the aggressors broke their hold.
Three years later, a new Gothic invasion broke out, in which members of other nations again took part. The leader was the Gothic Kniva. Dacia remained unmolested once again. The

^) V. Christescu, Ist. milit. a Daciei Romane 114f.; C. Daicoviciu, op. O. 46 2) C. Patsch, Sitz.-Ber. Wien. Akad. 217, 1, 145 f. ^) A. Ferenczi, An. Comis. Monum. Istor., Transylv. 4, 237f. *) Verf., Germanien 1938, 156; valuable references are owed to C. Daicoviciu.

5) Thanks to the kindness of A. Alfo; ldi, I was able to use the printed sheets of his forthcoming essay on the movements of the Goths for the following.
") CIL. 3, 8031; C. Daicoviciu, a. 0. 73f.; V. Christescu, a. 0. 93;
Istros 1, 173.
Most recently H. D. M. Parker, l. c. O. 341 n. 25.) On the dating see
Lambrino, Rev. et Lat, 11, 457f.
T 99

The enemy's army advanced through the great plains of Wallachia and lower Bessarabia, crossing the frozen river without difficulty. One half of the army threw itself on Novae and, repulsed from there, fell back before Nicopolis. Some of the troops went as far as Macedonia and reached the sea at Thessalonica. The Emperor Decius, who quickly rushed to the scene, forced the Goths to abandon the siege of Nicopolis, but suffered a heavy defeat at Beroia as a result of overly hot pursuit. In the meantime, a second army had the Dobruja to Su; den, had taken Anchialos and the stronghold of PhilippopoHs, and a hundred thousand prisoners fell into its hands. The emperor routed the booty-laden returnees in Dobruja. The decisive battle took place here^).
The battlefield was a gently undulating plain cut by watercourses, a day's march from the monument of Trajan, whose name Decius bore in his own. Abrittus, the Roman , lay on the edge of a that plunged steeply into the gorge of

a stream^). The watercourse runs in meanders and wide pools the north and north-east side of the town. Here it formed a swamp, which is today's

inhabitants of the neighboring village (Tschamilaru) serves as a peat trench.
The decisive eyebrows of the battle were played in this room. The Roman U@ overheating blamed a for its outcome. Trebonianus Gallus, governor of Lower Moesia and the one-time successor of Decius, is said to have been in league with the enemy; this can no longer be determined today. The emperor's son fell at the beginning of the battle,

- The tradition in B. Rappaport, Die Einfa; lle der Goten

41 Note 7 I see no reason, based on de morU pers. 4, to regard the Carps alone as Decius' opponents (A.
Schenk v. Stauffenberg, Rom. Kaisergesch, at Ma lalas 365). m i -
ir

- Between the villages of Azaplar and Chamilaru; see K. Skorpil in J^. Kaiinka, Antike Denkm. in Bulgarien 350 (Abtat-Kalessi). The city, which was destroyed by the Goths like the neighboring Tropaeum, was probably rebuilt by Constantine; the remains belong to his and the following period.

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but heedless of the loss, the father threw himself on the enemy. Two gothic troops were thrown and blown to pieces. But a third was still holding out, covered by the deep swamp. It already seemed to be giving way, but it was a trap: the impassable terrain was the enemy's undoing. From a distance, Gothic arrows hunted down the disabled and defenceless. The emperor's body sank into the mud and could no longer be recovered.
It was the heaviest blow that had ever hit the Danube front. Nevertheless, the advanced Dacian position was not abandoned. The ignominious peace that Decius' successor concluded with the Goths secured the

The country had another respite, which was used to rebuild the fortifications and roads. Only the eastern part, the Carpathian front, was ; the munitions found in the castes there do not reach beyond the middle of the century.) Then, however, there was a general collapse of the U; lyrian front, which necessarily Dacia.
Valerian had won his reign against the candidate of the U@ lyric troops. Through the division of the regiment, with the emperor himself taking over the east and his son GaUienus rushing to the threatened Rhine frontier, the Danube frontier was left to its own devices. Moreover, it was weakened by the surrender of troops for the other theaters war. The result was as was to be expected. For a while, it seemed as if the entire dominance of the Danube valley would collapse before the national assault.
GaUienus did not yet renounce Dacia either. But he withdrew further parts of the garrison in order to use them to reinforce the field army; we will come across this move by the emperor later. The defense of the border was left to the regular cadres of the two Dacian legions, apart from the Auxihart troops^). They held the entire west: except for the two Le

- C. Daicoviciu, op. cit. O. 78 note 2.
- The fact that only vexillations of both legions stood on the Drava (Poetovio) has been confirmed by ninernng, nti. IZ, UiO and H. D. M. Parker, l. c. O. 343 n. 22 rightly detont.

gion camps ApulumandPotaissai) ^also the capital Sarmizegetusa, which was never conquered by the enemy. Even the camp of Porolissum, which was advanced far to the north, seems to have been ^). 0 to last . From

MureshUnie and Banat were the same^). They were of particular importance: here the deployment roads to the northern part of the province passed through; they had to be of decisive use in a reconquest attempt.

At first, the collapse on the Illyrian border continued. Fortifications were already being built in Moesia, on the foothills of the Balkans; the front ran far behind the Danube line at that time. Dacia became more and more a lost outpost. The mobile detachments of the two legions were stationed in Pettau, on the Drava, where they had to cover Italy's constantly threatened borders. An attempt to save the province was only made when the LUyrians rose again after Gallienus' downfall. The new rulers immediately turned their attention to the homeland and border march. But it was precisely the greatest battle emperor, who Dacia for a moment, who ordered its final and .

Claudius had driven the Goths out of Moesia and restored the Danube line. AureUan dared to take the next step, the conquest of the area north of the river. Dacia felix! the mu; nts solemnly, and for a moment it seemed as if this was to be the truth. One after the other, the emperor beat the Vandals out of Pannonia and the Alamannic Juthungen out of northern Italy. Then he was ready to conquer the Danube.

- For the following, see now the explanations by C.

^ Lf in-depth knowledge of the (partly unobviFed) material and which I was able to on the . 2^ C r)TcoXiu l.c. 76; cf. 74 note 6. The finding m Porohssum is called

^Sa^ute^: that with these inscription stones the -,f-^%fcamp gate was walled up . A similar can be found one ^^^^I^^Yq. ^;.^'^^^^^^^^ Chi: St. Paulovics, II Umes Romano m Ungheria 19 fig. ' if^^^^^^^ of a capture of the camp would then be unno; tig. But only the excavation clarify this. t^i^^^^^^ Jstros l

- The Arcidava camp was destroyed and burned: G. Florescu, Istros 1, 60f.; 72.

and restore the former imperial borders in a victorious battle against the Goths in Dacia.

This victory was of far-reaching significance. a full century, the Germanic tribe ceased to be a feared neighbor of the empire. But at the climax, Aurehan knew how to restrain himself and do without. Military honor had been

satisfied, now the requirements of the empire as a whole had to take precedence. Dacia was terribly devastated and could not be held without constant effort. So the front was , the protruding corner .
The evacuation took place without a fight. Along with the troops, the main part of the urban population was pulled out of the country and to the right bank of the Danube. Settled in the areas devastated by plague and plunder, they were given a new home, which bore the name of the old one in memory. The cadres of the two Dacian legions came to Rataria and Oescus on the Danube. They remained in close proximity, a sign that they had persevered together to the end.
The rural population and the lower classes of the urban population remained in the country. In Sarmizegetusa, the buildings of the former forum were rebuilt into apartments^); then they too were abandoned. The cities

were robbed and fell apart. The border flooded into the ownerless territory and took the place of the Ro; mish upper class, which had left. Gothic settlements, recognizable by their burial mounds, dotted the land from the upper reaches of the Mures to the Banat. Among the sparse grave goods, the grey pottery decorated with stamps, which was characteristic of Roman Dacia, stands out. Here the successors grew into still existing forms of provincial culture^).
There are no traces of the Carpathians anywhere. Their rivals, the Goths, were on the spot in time and defeated their rivals. In the blink of an eye, as the imperial border was once again ^) C. Daicoviciu, Sarmizegetusa 383.
• Note by C. Daicoviciu. Cf. also J. Dechelette, Les vases ornes de la Gaule Romaine 2, 333; S. Lambrino, Rev. Istor. Romano, 1, 73; E. Beninger, Mannus 1938, 122f.; 131f.
^ 103

been consolidated and plundering had become impossible, the border peoples turned their fighting rage against each other. out by the Goths, these Carpathians, once fierce opponents, preferred to settle as peaceful subjects on the soil of the empire, south of the Danube. However, the Goths themselves also had to defend themselves in long against the Gepids advancing from Pontus.
Incisive was the mihta; ric importance of the reorganization. Reducing the front meant saving troops, and with the forces freed up, AureHan moved new tasks. They were soldiers from the Danube border: Dalmatians and Moesians, men from Ra; tia, Noricum and Pannonia, who followed the emperor. With them, he Zenobia's pla; ne, he broke the loose

East the empire to the empire. A new theater of war emerges before us.
7.
When Ardezhir had gained control Iraq, many Arabs did not want to remain in his kingdom and be subject to him. They moved away to Syria to join their fellow tribesmen living there. Gradually, however, other Arabs migrated to the cultivated land of Iraq, mainly those who had been charged with a crime or were otherwise in need. And so the inhabitants of Hira consisted of three classes. Firstly, the "Tanuch": Arabs who lived west of the Euphrates, between

Hira and Ambar, in and tents made of hair cloth. Secondly, the "Ibad", the actual inhabitants of Hira, who had settled there . Finally, the
"Fellow protectors": they had joined the people of Hira, but did not belong to either of the two classes that had submitted to the Ardeschir, neither the tent-dwelling "Tanuch" nor the "Ibad".
Centuries later, an Arab historian recounted the situation of his fellow tribesmen in Sasanian Mesopotamia. The report is limited to Hira on the lower Euphrates, but its significance goes beyond the individual case.
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The city was located on the border of cultivated land and Wu; ste^). Two church complexes and pottery with Christian symbols have been found. Accordingly, the
"Ibad" in the other U@ tradition as the Christians of Hira; they formed the sta; dtic element. The culture had taken possession of them; as of the Nestorian Church, they used the Syriac language in worship and writing, even if their colloquial language was Arabic.

In addition to the tribes, there is a group of nomads from the north of Arabia who moved towards the cultivated land of Iraq. Initially "protectors" of Hira, they became "protectors" if they stayed longer in his territory.
"Tanuch". They remained nomads, living under the tents of Haartuch or settling as farmers in and villages. If they moved to Hira itself, they became part of the urban class.
The boundaries between nomads and farmers are more fluid in the alluvial plains of Inner Iraq than elsewhere. Pasture and cultivated , steppe and wooded land lie side by side. Living under the hair tent does not mean that one devotes oneself exclusively to cattle breeding. The farmers also live in tents, settling sometimes in this and sometimes in that part of the usable land. Even permanent mud houses are abandoned after a while in order to settle elsewhere. For such a life of the U@ berga; nge only the entry into the peasantry means an end point.
This may be what the Arab report meant. A semi-fabulous story brought Hira into contact with Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, thus marking the first historical emergence of the commonwealth. The weakness of the last Arsacids may have prompted the Arabs to establish them a century earlier. Around 270, with Gadimat, the "King of the Tanukh", an Arab dynasty gained a dominant position^). Gadimat's successor Amr lent Manicha; ism his
^) Excavations at Hira: D. Talbot Rice, Journ. Royal Centr. Asian Soc. 19, 254f.; Antiquity 6, 276f.; Ars Islamica 1, 51f. 2) E. Littmann, Florilegium Melchior de Vogu; e 386 f.
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protection against the Sasanid NarseL^), thus assuming an independent position vis-à-vis the neighboring empire. Later, the kings of Hira clearly acted as Persian vassals. The Sasanids recognized the new state and lent it their support, both for well-considered reasons. By entrusting it with the guarding of the border on the Euphrates, they created a bulwark against the

nomads. Sasanian interests and those of Hira coincided here: once in possession of the land, the former nomads had little interest in sharing their territory with , even if they were their cousins from the desert.

Hira's importance lay in the fact that it led from the Sasanian period into the Islamic period. Some of the houses remained inhabited until the end of the eighth century. The grouping of the rooms around a central courtyard was adopted from older Sasanian buildings and passed on to Omojad castles such as Uchaidir. The stuccoed walls of Hira with their decorative forms, although they have their own formations, stand in the middle between Sasanian and early Islamic development; it is no different with the ceramics.

Even older than the founding of Hira was that of Hatra. Although its history was interrupted by a violent intervention, it was no less important for that. For Hira only played a role for Sasanids and Arabs, Hatra in history.

The city was located in the territory of an Arab tribe that had lost its homeland and had its pastures between the two in the northern part of Mesopotamia. Hatra first came to prominence under Trajan. At that time it was still unsightly and without prosperity. Its protection was provided by a fortification made of mud bricks^), but not so much the walls as the inhospitable

surroundings kept the enemy away. There was a lack of food for the animals and wood; drinkable water was only available in small quantities^). A large besieging army could not be

- H.H. Schaeder, Gnomon 9, 344 f.; E. Herzfeld, Paikuli 136f.; 140f.
- W.Andrae, Hatra II (21. wissensch. Vero; ff. der Deutsch. Orient. Ges.) 24f.; 58.
- The description in the Letters of G. Bell 247f. is exaggerated; the Shammar Sheikh Mishan showed me in October 1938 freshwaternot far from the Wadi Tartar; see W. Andrae, op. cit. O. 10.

the vicinity of the city. It was exposed to a terrible heat, the lack and the rigors of the weather; if you the food you had brought with you, the flies covered the food and drink and made it inedible.

Supplies for the besiegers were also difficult. The next staging post on the Tigris was on the site of ancient Assur^). A settlement rose on its ruins in Parthian times. The huge brick mass of the former ziggurat served as a citadel and the palace of the Parthian governor lay at its . From here it was two days' march to Hatra. The columns that had to bring food, water and siege engines had to cover this distance. They were constantly harassed by the mounted troops of Hatra.

Trajan was the first to experience the resistance of the desert city. During a skirmish, the emperor himself, who despite his age was bravely cavorting on horseback, was in mortal danger. The mounted archers of the Hatrenians were drawn from the warlike Bedouins, who were like the Tanuch of Hira or the

today's Shammar nomadized under their hair tents in the neighbourhood of the city^). They aimed their arrows at the emperor, whom they recognized by his

grey hair: his neighbor's horse was killed under his body and Trajan himself was wounded.

When Septimius Severus once again appeared at the gates of the city, he encountered a prosperous and powerful community. The source of its prosperity was the trade that passed through the country. From Ctesiphon, the road led via Hatra and Singara to Nisibis and further west; another branched off to Palmyra. For the caravans, which, often comprising hundreds of animals, marched and camped in fixed order, with armed men at their head and security at their side, the need for a place that would provide them temporary security arose of its own accord. There they could store their goods

- W. Andrae and H. Lenzen, Die Partherstadt Assur (57. wissensch. Vero; ffentl.
- E.^Herzfeld, ArchaeoL history of Iran 28; Letters of G. Bell 529.

or winnings, to their provisions before they set off on a new journey. Hatra offered this security. The kings took care protecting the road in their territory and took taxes from those passing through. In the middle of the fortified city was the huge caravan court, which provided peace and shelter. They were in the immediate vicinity of the royal palace, whose lofty lobbies looked to the east over the hustle and bustle of this trading and transhumance center. The next station was on the Tigris: south of the old

Assur has itself a caravanserai of the Sasanian time^).

The king's house, market or caravanserai and, thirdly, the temple have always been the basic components of a Mesopotamian city. Hatra fu; gt itself to this order. But everything was the forms of a late Hellenism, which had created its own world of forms in Mesopotamia. The Parthian Dura shows how thoroughly Oriental and Greek formations interpenetrated. In Hatra's palace, the sa; ule and architrave stand next to the liwan, ancient masks next to the bull protomes, which are reminiscent of Achaimenid art. Artemis appears under the images of the gods with the crescent moon, but under the Greek image was the virgin moon goddess of Arab origin. The temple itself was dedicated to the local sun god, whose worship the surrounding lands; he was depicted in Greek forms above the lintel of his house. This temple was said to be richly with tre. They spurred Severus' greed mightily. At first he tried to take Hatra by a coup d'état, but in this country, where every piece of news spread like wildfire among the tribes^), surprise was bound to fail. The following year the emperor appeared again, this time prepared for a formal siege. The walls of Hatra had, according to the prosperity of the city, some improvements. The former mud-brick buildings were replaced by stone hulls and mighty bastions

- W. Andrae and H. Lenzen, op. cit. O. 102f.
- A nice example in W. Andrae and H. Lenzen, l.c. O. Einhg.

. A hail of arrows greeted the , and the bullets of the machines standing on the towers hit them from afar. Blazing pitch was showered down on those who had ventured close to the walls. And in the rear, the nimble dwarf riders were at the besiegers; they cut down anything that had strayed too far from the camp during the foraging.
At last, victory seemed to beckon for the emperor. All the siege engines of the had been burnt by the Hatrenians; only those built by the engineer Priscus remained intact. They succeeded in making a breach in the wall. The Illyrian core troops were preparing to break in, when the emperor himself ordered them to halt. He for the of the temple: he had to leave them to the victorious soldiers, but they would have into his hands if they had been handed over voluntarily. But the defenders did not think of surrendering. During the night they erected a new wall in place of the breach, and the next morning saw, through the emperor's untimely greed, all of the Romans' attempts thwarted. Once again, they had to leave in the wilderness.
Only Shapur, the second Sasanid, succeeded in doing what the others had tried in vain. He sealed off the city from the outside world with a solid line. But even then was the love and betrayal of the king's daughter of Hatra that, according to local legend, brought the city down. When Julian's army marched past city a hundred years later, it lay abandoned. "Have you not seen Hatra," sang the Arab poets afterward, "whose inhabitants were always at home? But is anyone who lives well eternal?" - or:
"Against them marched Shapur, the man of armies, with the elephants, over whom the blankets were laid, and with the heroes."

"And he destroyed the rock blocks of the pillars of those fortresses, whose bases were like iron plates."
Yemen used to be called the cradle of the Arabs and Iraq their grave^). In fact, they all come from the fertile Su; west 1) R. H. Kiernan, Uexploration de VArabie (Franzo; s. U@bers.) 14.

the peninsula. Tribes that today live in Najd or Hamad, Syria or the Euphrates can be traced back to Yemen. In ancient times it was known from the Himjarites, who attempted to rule the East Bank at the end of the second century BC. Since times, this wave, which originated in the , has spread north and northeast. The fertile soil can no longer the growing number of people. Driven into steppe xmd desert, the exuberant is forced to adopt a nomadic way of life, entrusting their continued existence to herds of camels and sheep. Slowly migrating northwards, they once again come across fertile land beyond the Arab borders, which they try to take possession of in a struggle with those already settled^).
The invasion of Iraq by the Hatrenians and the founding of their city was one episode of this everlasting Arab migration. This migration differs from everything else that preceded it in that it directed its front equally against the two great powers of the time. Like a wedge, it pushed itself between the Romans and the Persians, as a third and new component. And as a beginning: ,

as only a few were in this future-oriented time. The Arab migration of the seventh century is characterized by

on the historical horizon for the first time. Freely, it does so in still and unfinished outlines.

"His life," says E. T. Lawrence of today's inhabitant of the , "offers him air and wind, sun and light, the open space and the great emptiness. Nature remains untouched by the work of man, knows no fertility: only the sky above and the earth below. Its only refuge and the rhythm of its existence is God. For the Arab, this sole God has nothing human, nothing tangible, nothing ethical, nothing that has any special reference to the world or to him. He alone is great, and yet there is something homely, something universal about this God of Arabia, who is their food, their fights

- We know the description of this "Gulf Stream" from the beginning of E. T. Lawrence's masterpiece.

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and desires, and their frequent thought and their intimate feeling is, to a degree, unimaginable to all those to whom God is veiled in such a most delicious way by the A@ externals of formal worship."

Hatra daria also meant imperfect Begian. Like their fellow tribesmen in their homeland and on the Syrian-Mesopotamian borders, its inhabitants worshipped the stars, which were constantly present and regulated the course of day and night. Just as the sun was the main deity in Hatra, the moon was the main deity in neighboring Karrhai. Caracalla intended to make a sacrifice to him when the moon'weapon thwarted the plan. JuHan visited the temple during his Persian campaign. Even today, is an unconscious reverence for the starry sky in the Bediiin, which was the most sacred thing to his ancestors and which was only displaced by the reign of Mohammed.

The beginnings of the Arab migration were crushed between Rome and Iran as if between millstones. It was not so much a lack of military and national strength - what was missing was what made the Arabs find themselves: their faith in Allah and the one who founded them.

8.

When the Seleucid Empire collapsed under the blows of Rome and the advance of the Parthians, smaller states broke away from the empire on the borders of the and constituted themselves as independent communities under native but Hellenized rulers. The Osrhoene and Edessa were then given a dynasty whose members all bore Arabic names. A different dynasty ruled in the Commagene, which its ancestors back to Seleucus and the Achaimenids at the same time. Chalcis "under Lebanon" got its Arab dynasty at that time; it was replaced an Itura; isian one, and such a dynasty also ruled in the priestly state of Emesa.

Around the same time Palmyra emerged. As a foundation far a; lter, it now gained in importance through the caravan trade. It was located at the intersection of three desert roads that led to

III

Emesa, Damascus and Bostra. Relations with the Nabata; ern provided access to the Southeast trade and the caravan routes to the Arabian Peninsula. However, the main direction of Palmyrene trade ran down the Euphrates^). The end point and destination was Mesopotamia. In Spasinu Charax, the capital of the Charakian , and in Babylon, the Palmyrene merchants had their own fonduks or chane: quarters in which they lived and had their storage rooms. With the founding of Vologesias^) the

Fonduks moved away from the dying Babylon and towards the new Parthian caravan city. In the first and second centuries AD, Palmyra was the transshipment point for all trade passing through the Parthian into the Empire. Goods came from far and wide: Chinese silk fabrics from the Han period have been found in a Palmyrene tomb^). At times, a separate sea link seems to have been maintained with the Indashmu; ndung^).

The city's large merchant families grew out of this caravan trade. They were all of Semitic origin; they did not allow any Greeks into their community. The Caravan leaders were particularly prominent: they guided the caravan through the , provided food and water, took care of protection against the Bedouins and negotiated with the Parthian . The caravan routes were provided with wells and rest ; a separate militia of , provided by the city or at their own expense by the caravan leaders, ensured the safety of the desert routes.

The flourishing of trade could not fail to have an impact on Palmyra's development. Growing out of a small settlement whose importance lay in the neighboring spring, it resisted becoming a city in the ancient sense for a long time. People lived in mud in the local way;

- On the following M. RostovtzeflF, Melanges Glotz 2, 793f.

-) On the situation, see Streck, RE 2 A, 1181f.; on the caravan route from Palmyra to Vologesias, see R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, Syria 1930. 101 f. ^) R. Pfister, Textiles de Palmyre 39f.; pl. IXf.; Nouveaux textiles de Palmyre 34f. 4) H. Seyrig, Melanges Cumont 1, 397f.

The temples were the only monumental . A rapid development began in the first half of the second century AD. The sanctuary in the east and the civil settlement in the west grew together. The , which are still Palmyra's hallmark today, were built and finally the city received its wall, which was built tightly around the inhabited quarters^).

The architectural development, spanning barely more than a century and a half, is mirrored in the city's poHtical history. Since the Parthian Wars of Trajan and Lucius Verus, Rome's interest increased considerably. A Roman garrison was placed in Palmyra^). It was not appropriated, but was given administrative independence and thus the appearance of . But the provisions of the Fiscal Law of 137 show that Rome insisted on its share of the brought in by trade with the Parthian Empire, India and the Far East^). Under the emperor Marcus, Palmyra was given a garrison, and under Septimius Severus the status of a colony. Members of the great Palmyrene families, merchants and caravan entrepreneurs, became Roman citizens. One house, which had

adopted the family name of Septimius Severus, gained predominant importance. Although Septimius Odaenathus, as prince of Palmyra, had to his machinations against Rome with death, his son nevertheless remained in power. Another Septimian of the same name, but unlike Roman party members, possessed it in the very moment when Palmyra's great hour dawned. To be more precise: when, with the fall of Valerian, the east of the empire seemed to be left to its own devices^).

When the emperor hurried to the Euphrates border, the Gothic defeat of Decius and the misrule of his successors had already had an effect. The raids of the Su; drussian

- A. V. Gerkan, Berytus 2, 25f.; D. Schlumberger, ibid. 149f.
- H. Seyrig. Syria 1933, 153 f.
- D. Schlumberger, Syria 1937, 295f.

For the following see A. Alfo; ldi, Berytus 4, 41 f.; a second essay by A. was used here in the manuscript. U@ on the dating issues cf. above p. 65 note lu.4.

A series of attacks by the Sasanid Shapux that were as tough as they were successful began; his son followed in the footsteps of Ardezhir. Armenia had already been lost to the empire under Yalerian's predecessors. In Syria, the Persian troops advanced as far as Antiocheia^). In the early summer of 253, they invaded the metropolis of the east, razed population remained in the city or carried it off into captivity; no public or private building was spared from the devastation.

On his arrival, Valerian encountered a usurper who came from the priesthood of Emesa. As quickly as he mastered this opponent, his battle against the Sasanians was unsuccessful. The rebuilding of Antioch had barely begun when new attacks broke out. Shapur attacked Edessa, which resisted him, and marched a second time against Antioch via Zeugma on the Euphrates^). He was led by a ra; ter who was himself an Antiochian and already led the first conquest. When the Sasanian still an hour's journey away, the

wealthy part of the citizenry; the people were surprised by the Persian hail of arrows when they were in the theater. Again there was murder and . Daim Shapur turned to the Orontes Valley, conquered Apameia, Larissa and Epiphaneia. Emesa defended itself successfully^); passing the city, he returned to Mesopotamia via Chalcis, Aleppo, Batnai and HierapoHs^). Here he awaited Valerian's attack.

The emperor had tried to control the disaster without success. He had to let everything happen as an epidemic decimated his army. The hardship in besieged Edessa prompted him to finally try fighting. He seems to have achieved an initial success^), but soon afterwards the news came,

^) Shapur's own testimony in the victor's inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam now provides confirmation. Cf. W. B. Henning, Bull. School. Orient. Stud. 9, 826, with a different dating than A. Alfo; ldi, l. O. 55 f.

- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 828.

^) A. Schenk v. Stauffenberg, Rom. Kaisergesch, in Malalas 372 f. 4) W. B. Henning, l. c. O. 828.
Mattingly-Sydenham, Imp. Rom. coin. 5, 104 no. 453; H. D. M. Parker, a. O. 170 and note 32.

that he had fallen into the hands the enemy. Nobody knew more tosay, the different news stood side by side. Enough, the end seemed to have come. Samosata, the imperial headquarters, fell into the hands of the victor^). Antiocheia was taken for the third time. The Persians flooded Syria, Cappadocia and Cilicia. Ancient and famous cities were . Shapur himself claimed to have advanced westwards as far as Tyanitis and Lycaonia and north-eastwards as far as Sebasteia^). In

Paphlagonia, his troops reached the sea. Huge booty was brought together from all sides.
Dura on the Euphrates must also have fallen after a prolonged siege^). The city possessed an importance comparable to that of Samosata. While there, protected by the strong fortress of Edessa, was the imperial headquarters and blocked access to Asia Minor, Dura was the seat of a dux^). As on other borders, this name refers to the head of the limes and the troops belonging to it, who was independent of the respective provincial governor. The consolidation of the border defense had become necessary with the offensive policy of the Sasanians; it had existed since about the time of Alexander Severus. The dux of the banks of the Euphrates lived in his own staff in Dura with offices, officers' apartments, stables and a room his bodyguard. After Samosata and Antiocheia had fallen, the attention of the attackers had to to this still defensive center.
The attack was expected in Dura*. They had prepared themselves by the city wall from the inside with a huge earth rampart. Ha; user and sanctuary,

- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 836f. This is important because A. Alfo; ldi, a. O. 57; 60f. assumes that the second mu; nzsta; tte he has identified was in Samosata. He points to its uninterrupted existence as proof, but this Samosata. For the city did not survive, but fell into enemy hands.
- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 835f.; 842.
- Against A. Alfo; ldi, l.c. O. 58f. cf. the convincing by M. Rostvotzeff, Dura-Europos and its art 28 f.

^) M. Rostovtzeff, l.c. O. 27f., where the a; lter literature (a. 0. 140 no. 14) is given.

which lay in the neighborhood, had to be sacrificed; the Mithia; um of Dura went underground at that time. On the other side, the attackers drove underground tunnels against the surrounding wall in order to bring it down. The Romans tried to defend themselves with counter tunnels, resulting in battles underground. After a lot of back and forth, the Persians finally penetrated the wall; with the fall of the city, the border defense lost another strong point^).

The catastrophe seemed , but it was precisely the completeness of the Persian victory that brought about the turnaround. With Valerian's capture, the unfaithful leadership, which had been much to blame, was removed. The border fortress of Edessa held out; the scattered Romans gathered here under the leadership of Macrianus. Another , Callistus, succeeded in throwing troops into Cilicia and defeating the loot-laden enemy; the great king's troop and harem fell into his hands. general, the excess of booty and prisoners was a disaster for the Persians. With Mu; he, Shapur to the Euphrates; he had to take great pains to buy the passage at Edessa with money. On the way he was attacked by Odaenathus, the ruler of Palmyra, and suffered new losses. The latter had once been rejected by Shapur as a confederate and had then waited until the tide turned; now he intervened in the battle.

U@ n general, a change with Valerian's departure. Gallienus, his son and successor, made no attempt to

made the decision to ostracize his father. On the contrary: his policy was aimed at a break with his burdened past. The inscriptions on his coins this decisively; the unfortunate name Valerian was discarded by him and his family^). The appearance of Odaenathus, however, was most significant. For the first time, Palmyra played a role alongside the previous great Rome and Persia.

- R. Dumesnil du Buisson, Excav. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, 188f.; M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 29f.
- L. Wickert, RE 13, 351 f.; A. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 1929, 258f.

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The city had its own particular for turning against the Sasanians. Its wealth, as mentioned, was based on the caravan trade, and an important branch went down the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf. It ran through Persian territory, but while the Arsacids had tolerated this trade, things had changed since the rise of the new royal dynasty. The kingdom of Characene at the mouth of the river had been eliminated, the trade itself had been taken over and this source of income for Palmyra had been blocked^). The blow was unforgotten xmd the bitterness increased due to the rejection that the ambitious and self-confident lord of the city had experienced on the part of Shapur.

Relying on the city's wealth and oasis location, Odaenath dared to fight. His army consisted of the excellent archers on foot and on horseback who had escorted the caravans since time immemorial and whom Rome had recently incorporated into its own army in closed detachments. The nomadic and semi-nomadic backers of Palmyra^) provided the teams . Erga; nzend joined, from the

The heavy weapon of the cataphracts was added to the aristocracy and the rich merchant class. Formed according to the Parthian-Sasanian model, it stood alongside the , as was customary in the armies Iran. U@ he model of the court of Ctesiphon had a general effect on Palmyra: not only in warfare, but also in the use of Persian titles, which were worn alongside the Roman ones, in Persian clothing and weapons^), in chivalric style. The claim to the first shot at the hunt^), through which Odaenath incurred the deadly hatred of his nephew, is reminiscent of the beginning of the rift between Ardewan and Ardeschir. And just as the latter henceforth had to abstain from riding and all knightly activities, so) Cf. also W. Andrae, Das wiedererstandene Assur 188.

- They appear in the caravan inscription published by M. Rostovtzeff, Berytus 2, 143 ff.
- H. Seyrig, Syria 1937, 4f.

*) It still exists today as an inviolable law, as I discovered on the occasion of a hunt with the Sheikh of the Shammar Bedouins in October 1938.

the unruly Palmyrener was also punished with the confiscation of his horse^). Odaenath began as a partisan of Gallienus and did not change this stance until the end. It allowed him to acquire ever more extensive powers and to make himself the master of the on the eastern border. The emperor, tied to the Rhine and Danube, was unable to bring any help to the East. As soon as they became aware of the situation, the Roman Oriental army raised rulers of their own choosing. Macrianus and Balista, the treasurer and the guard of the unfortunate Yalerian, had the two sons of the former, the younger Macrianus and Quietus, appointed to the throne.

emperors; they were recognized as far away as A@ gypt^). Odaenath did not hesitate to prove his loyalty to Gallienus once again. The usurpers, freed for the moment from the Persian danger, immediately had to a new opponent. They were defeated: the two Macrianus' in Greece by the most powerful of Gallienus' generals, the others by the lord of Palmyra. Bahsta himself fell with the besieged Emesa into Odaenath's hands and was executed. The latter, the true victor, was now appointed governor and commander of the whole East by Gallienus.

Odaenath was at the height his success. Together with the legions that remained in the east^), he recaptured the conquered by the Persians in 262, including the stronghold of Nisibis, and advanced as far as Ctesiphon. He was less interested in revenge Valerian than in the trade interests of Palmyra itself. The blow inflicted on it by the Persian occupation of Characene was to be made good. Ctesiphon itself remained unconquered, only its outskirts were burned down. But the trade route free again a time; four years later a Palmyrene merchant could that he had traveled the caravan route to the Persian Gulf^). Gallienus conferred the title of emperor on the victorious Odaenath.

- Zonaras 12, 24 p. 600 Bonn; E. No; ldeke, Bezzenb. Contrib. 4,

40.

- J. G. Milne, Catalogue of Alexandrian coins XXIV; 97.Zosim. 1, 39, 1 quite clearly.

*) J. G. Fevrier, Essai sur Vhist. pol. et econ. de Palmyre 88. 118

Then the Palmyrenian fell by the hands of his mother, together with his eldest son^). His wife Zenobia seized

name of her son Vaballath. GaUienus refused to recognize him, she responded in kind. In Antiocheia and Alexandreia^), the was stopped in the emperor's name; his commander Heraclianus was defeated by the Palmyrenians on the march against the Persians. Supremacy in the east was asserted. Under Claudius a unification took place; once again the image of the legitimate ruler appeared on the coins and it remained so, even when Zenobia went one step further and conquered A@ gypt through her general Zabdas. This was because the emperor had the master of the Orient so he could focus his attention entirely on the Danube border. He proceeded no differently in the east than in the Gallic west^), where he left the Autun to the greed of Victorinus' soldiers. Palmyra, however, was now doing on a large scale what Hatra had attempted on a small scale and what Muhammad's successors would one day successfully accomplish: it had emerged as a third great power with a double front to the east and west.

Events had come to a head. The final step was taken under Aurelian. In quick succession, Zenobia had her son's image on the coins next to the Roman emperor, after which his image completely disappeared. In this way, she first claimed equal rights^), then sole rule in the East. Vaballath took the title of Emperor and Augustus, Zenobia that of Augusta^). Then came the counterattack. Aurelian had his hands free in the west; immediately after the reorganization of the Danube border, he set out against the east with his troops, strengthened by the conquest of Dacia. In the same year that Zenobia gave her son as sole

^) Herod: SHA., trig. tyr. 15, 2; 16. Herodianus on a Palmyrene inscription and a lead tessera: H. Seyrig, Syria 1937, If.

- H. Mattingly, Numism. Chron. 1936, 101 f. in contrast to J. Vogt, D. Alexandrin. Mu; nzen 206f.; 209.
- P. Damerau, Klio Beih. 33, 76f.

On the view of H. Mattingly, l.c. O. 104; 112f.; the older literature on Alexandreia in J. Vogt, l.c. op. 213 note 1244.

5) H. Mattingly, op. cit. O. 113f. 119

ruler had been proclaimed, A@ gypt was back in Roman hands. Palmyra was thrown down with mighty blows; the desperate attempt to against the decision only sealed its fate.

Palmyra did not cease to exist, but its prosperity was gone. The tombs do not go beyond the year of the collapse. In the subterranean chambers with their tombs, which usually served a family and its descendants as a hereditary tomb,

burials ceased; existing tombs remained unused, new ones were not created^). It must have been the richest that were hit , perhaps destroyed.
With the elimination of Palmyran power, Roman rule in the east was restored. Reliable Illyrian and Moorish troops were assigned to guard the border. But it was clear to everyone that it could not stay that way. The failure of the border defense under Valerian had proven that the previous means of Sasanian warfare could no longer be mastered. The strength of the Persian army was based on its cavalry. Mounted archers from

The iron-armored cataphracts were the backbone of great mobility; the great possibilities of Persian lay in the combination of light and heavy weapons, maneuverability and thrust. There was no closed defensive line on the Roman side, and the swift-footed enemy was able to penetrate deep into Roman territory past the large fortresses with their legionary camps. Everything seemed to be exposed to him without protection; he was allowed to rob and burn with impunity.
Palmyra's uprising meant that the Sasanian victor was now fought with his own resources. This battle was successful, but it was not a success for Roman armies and Roman leadership. After the collapse of Zenobia's rule, the question arose as to who would be responsible for protecting the border against the Sasanids.
1) H. Ingholt, Berytus 2, 58f.; R. Amy and H. Seyrig, Syria 1936, 232 (Hypogaeum of Jarhai); an exception is the inscription Berytus 2, 106f., dating from 279. 120
Fig. 26 Hellenizing masks. Main palace, Hatra (p. 108).

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Abb. 29. Triglyphe, Palmyra (S. 113).

Abb. 30. Bacchus-Tempel, Palmyra (S. 113).

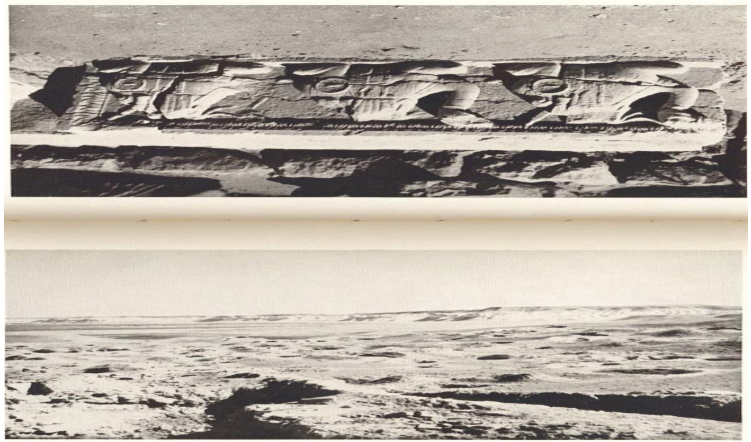

Abb. 32. Die Euphratfestung Barbalissos (S. 121).

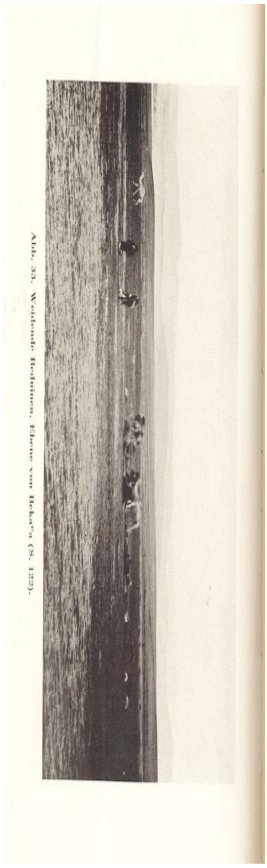

Abb. 33. Weidende Beduinen. Ebene von Beka^a (S. 122).

had to take over. A return to the old , which had not proven themselves, was just as impossible as

the return of another Palmyra. If Rome itself undertook the task, it had to be solved by other means than before. To have done this is the merit of Diocletian^).

It was already started in the first decade of his reign^). A system of parallel roads was with larger and smaller fortifications, connected by crossroads. Starting with Bostra in the south, it ravaged the edge of the Arabian plateau. It kept to the slopes of the Anti-Lebanon, which runs from Damascus in a north-easterly direction. Then took over Euphrates and Khabur took over the defense; over the chains of Jebel Sinjar they reached the defense system of the Tigris^). The enormous stretch through which this limes ran was already in the . But care was taken to lead it through a zone that ensured the

water supply through abundant rainfall or river . This gave them a decisive advantage. They were also careful to ensure that no cavalry army, even under the most devious leadership, get through.) The course of the main road was laid out in such a way that it over mountain bastions and steep slopes; in other cases replaced replaced the "wet border" such protection^). A network of smaller forts stretched between the fortresses and camps. Every pass, every desert path was blocked here; no one was to pass through with impunity. In addition to defending against the Sasanian armies, the limes had control the nomads. The desert between Antilibanon and Tigris is steppe {Hamad). From the

- Thanks to a great deal of research, the Emperor's enormous work is once again before us: A. Poidebard, La

trace de Rom dans le desert de la Syrie (1934); Sir Aurel Stein, Geograph. Journ, 1938, 62f.

- A. Poidebard, op. cit. O. 200 note 1.

^) A. Poidebard, II limes Romano in Siria (Quaderni delVimpero: II limes Romano 6) 7f.
*)Compare what Amm. Marc. 14, 3, 1-2 regardthe one of Nahodares planned robbery. 5) Sir Aurel Stein, op. O. 65. 121

further south. It differs from the Nefud, a sandy , in that it of loess or alluvial soil. When it rains, it offers abundant , which the heat, however, quickly withers. During the rains in winter and spring, the nomad moves with his herds in the Hamad; with the drought, he seeks out the higher pastures of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the fertile plains of the Orontes or the Beka'a. These migrations took place through the limes: its construction allowed the Romans to monitor the movements of the nomads and guide them along fixed paths. This prevented the formation of separate nomadic dominions or those which, like Palmyra, relied on the defensive power of the desert dwellers. The Bedouins were now taken into service, as the defense against the mounted enemy required the creation of their own cavalry divisions. Aurelian had already transferred such units, Dalmatians and Moors, to the eastern border and by the end of the fourth century the number of cavalry had increased steadily. The agile and enduring squadrons, recruited from the inhabitants of the desert, formed a significant part. They were located in special fortifications which, in contrast to the forts of the regula; , were built in the local style.

and served to provide cover against surprise cavalry attacks^).
Once again, Roman organization and an enduring spirit of perseverance and firmness had triumphed over the great movers of the East. The Syrian limes had kept its promise; it only finally removed by the Arab conquest.
9.
During the third century, there seemed to be comparative calm in Africa.
Of course, there was no lack of uprisings and battles. Under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, then again under Alexander Severus, war was with the Maui;

the straits did not prevent them from invading the Spanish province of Baetica. The 1) A. Poidebard, l. O. 9f.; 17.
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The years of Valerian's and Gallienus' joint reign, characterized by upheavals in all parts of the empire, saw the first uprising of the "Fu; nf Sta; mtne" and their comrades, the Bavars. Around the same time, Faraxen, a cowardly warrior and chief, resisted the propraetor of Numidia with his troops. In the end, the Moor fell into the hands of a Roman cavalry leader who had him killed. Under Claudius, Tenagiao Probus successfully fought against the African states as pra; fect of A@ gyptia and governor of Numidia^). The unrest continued into Diocletian's reign and was put down effort.
In contrast to all the others, the Numidian Limes remained unbroken; it was maintained without loss until the Vandal invasion. The dangers here did not come from outside, but from within the empire itself.

The Rif Mountains rise steeply from the sea coast and cross the interior from west to east. Rising up to the snow line, crisscrossed by gorges and incised , a landscape of almost alpine character unfolds. Everywhere it is covered with villages and smaller settlements, whose brown, rocky stone houses clustered together to form solid groups for defense.
For as fertile and as this Cabyle is, it has always closed itself off from its environment. It resisted foreign colonization all the more fiercely because it was done in silence. Whether submitted externally or not did not change the result. It is true of North Africa today that the more Berber it is, independent, isolated and anarchic, the more warlike and harsh it is. It was no different in ancient times.
The Roman city ruins surrounded the Rif in a wide arc: they never its borders. The sparseness of Roman remains contrasts with the masses of ruins and finds on the and in the plains of the interior. 1) A. Stein, Klio 1936, 237 f.
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The Moors of the mountains the rule of the Romans, provided the army with excellent soldiers, but they did not open themselves up to the Romans and the cities. They clung to the old: the traditional language and customs, the mountainous homeland, the tribe and family, the ancient religion.
Even today, every contract is sealed by the sacrifice of the bull. A swift blow cuts through the animal's tendons,

A second one opens his throat. While his blood into the sand, the contract is concluded with a handshake. Ancient things are preserved in it: the prehistoric rock paintings of the country show the bull with the sun disk between his or surrounded by worshippers. The sacred ram appears next to it. Moors who had served in the Roman army and made sacrifices to the emperor's genius soon turned back to the old da; mon, having been honorably discharged and home. Riding on the go; ttHchen ram, they had themselves depicted - on the same ram that had already been carved on the ancient rock carvings of Figuig as an object of religious worship.

The causes of the Moorish uprisings of the third century are not known. They emerged at times when the central power was weakening: they rose from hidden resistance to open violence. Given the contrast between and Berber character, the unrest was bound to flare up again and again. Nevertheless, they never got beyond a local significance. Blood feuds and tribal feuds, a lack of to subordinate themselves and to look beyond the narrowest, most personal concerns, prevented the formation of a state. A but fragmented people, divided into countless clans, struggled to assert its . But it never rose to momentous historical action.

The contribution of indigenous Africa to the history of the third century must sought elsewhere. The imperial era referred to all as Moors. It made no distinction between nomads and peasants, between the old and the new; it called the Kabyles by the same name as the Moorish cavalry, who, drawn from the desert dwellers, were called Moors.

has made a name for itself in military history. And yet the appearance of new sta; mme at certain times is deuthch^).

Long after our century, during the reign of the Vandal king Trasamimd, the Germanic horsemen suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Moorish of Tripolitania. For the battle, they had a circular formation, the center of which consisted of women and children, the outermost edge of which formed by a living wall of camels, each in a row. The warriors themselves, armed with shields and spears, were distributed between the animals and received the approaching Vandals with their projectiles^). The formation that had proved itself against the Vandals was retained by the Viking in the following period. The Byzantines also had to fight multiple lines of camels, sometimes cattle and small livestock^).

This tactic was developed from the nature of the camel.

"The camel," says C. M. Dougthy, a classical witness of long experience, "is a dull animal that has no its master. If the latter spurs it on, it may down bru; Uend in the midst of the battle. Or, if its rider only against the bridle, it will stand still and buck, screaming, whereas it to flee quickly. Some, on the other hand, are stiff-necked and gallop with their riders into the midst of the enemy, and even the fastest camel is easily by the most inferior warhorse." It is clear why the Moors refrained from using the camel as a mount in battle against the horse. On the other hand, they had taken another into account : the shyness of the horse before the

unfamiliar appearance of the Wu; stentier. And their calculations were not wrong. Frightened by the strange sight, the animals of the Vandal horsemen broke free; the enemy in eastern Rome was pleased to note their defeat.

^) The following is a discussion of E. F. Gautier, Geiserich (Deutsche U@ bers.) 325 f.

- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 8, 25f.
- Procopius, h. Vand. 2, 11, 17; Coripp., Joh, 2, 93f.; 396f.; 4, 597f.

The Moors' fighting style was something new the historians of the time: never before had a camel troop defeated an army of horsemen. The animal had thus gained a hitherto unknown importance and communicated it to the nomadic movement, which on the camel for military and economic purposes and used it for migrations and raids. The appearance of the camel nomads^) came from Su; den, the Fezzan, where they left their carvings depicting warriors and camel riders on the rock walls^). This movement of the Hamitic nomads, which took place from the desert towards the fertile land and the former Roman territory, was, alongside the Arab conquest, the defining event in the history of North Africa.

A of such nomads begins with one of them hearing the footsteps of a camel rider moving ahead. Then he says to himself, "I want to steal the camel. How can I steal the camel?" The almost involuntary A@ uJ3ering is characteristic, because robbery and violence have determined the nature of the Hamitic desert from time immemorial. A hard struggle for existence forces these Ja; glad and nomads

a way of life in which only the docile and hardest are worth anything. The game is , and only the most undemanding domestic animals find their livelihood in the herds of the desert. Wealth is based on the possession of these herds: above all on the camel, which is a possession, food, mount and beast of burden all in one. Cattle rustling is the safest, often the only means of increasing one's possessions. Ra; uber, warrior and man are therefore identical concepts.

The forms in which the spirit of this struggle for existence has expressed itself are extraordinary. Only the strong and living are recognized; without pity, the gaze is turned away from the passing and the dead. The dying are cast out of the community,

^) Since the term already become established, we will retain it. In principle, we should speak of dromedaries and 'dromedary nomads'.

2) L. Frobenius, Ekade Ektab. Die Felsmalereien Fezzans Pl. 85-86; Kulturgesch. Afrikas Pl. 27; G. B. M. Flamand's Lespierres ecrites (Hadjrat mectoubat) pl. XLVIL; p. 60 fig. 15; p. 73 fig. 21-22; p. 85 fig. 26; p. 132 fig. 36; fig, 109-112.

drags him into the desert and tries in every way to prevent the return of the dead man. Single combat under the harshest conditions and with the most murderous weapons is the rule. Only by fighting can victory be won profit maintained: this applies to property and hunting spoils, to the recognition of fellow tribesmen and not least to women. It is conquered through the most dangerous ventures, it must be defended in constant struggle against neighboring and stronger ones. The 'matriarchal' order of the tribe forces the man to be constantly ready to prove his courage and strength^).

The invasion of the Hamitic camel nomads in Africa and the rise of the equestrian style among Iranians and Germanic tribes were similar phenomena. Both times the animal gained symbolic value; a supreme and masterly existence unfolded, which based on life in this animal. Ma; nnHch heroes, the heroic, personal commitment, individual combat, a mobile and independent existence gained a new status everywhere, albeit under a wide variety of practices.

The question arises: did the camel nomads only enter the historical world in the Vandal period, i.e. in the sixth century? Did they not also belong in time to those other forms which are essentially connected to them?

The use of camels in warfare goes back a long way in northern Africa. The tactics used by the Moors against the Vandals and Byzantines indicate a long familiarity with the animals, knowledge of their peculiarities and bad habits. MiHta; r writers of the late imperial period know of camel fighters among the African tribes^). Septimius Severus had built the Tripolitanian limes^) against the desert nomads who came from Fezzan and ventured as far as the walls of Leptis^), had set up outposts on the caravan routes as far as

0 See the descriptions given by L. Frobenius on several occasions, most recently in Kulturgeschichte Afrikas 238f. 2) Veget, epit. 3, 23.

2) P. W. Townsend, Am. Journ. Arch. 1938, 522f.; cf. 512f. G.

M. Columba in Africa Romana 117. 127

the oases of Bondschem and Siaun^). Was it the camel nomads who came forward back then?

The camel was used by the Arab border tribes even earlier and to a greater extent. Even Assyrian reliefs depict them as camel riders and fighters. Strabon speaks of the Bedouins fighting from the camels' backs, on the animals' meat and milk. Pictorial representations are added as corroboration^). Arab , seated on camels and armed narrow, man-sized swords, confronted the Romans for the first time in the battles with the Seleucid Antiochus III. The last Parthian co; king led a corps of camel riders against Caracalla and Macrinus alongside mounted troops and cataphracts; they led their thrusts the animals with long lances. Arabs on camels were among the opponents of King Shapur, as one of his rock reefs shows. One of the later Sasanids, the master archer Bahram V. Gor (420 -438), had himself depicted as a camel rider; he shoots his prey with a bow, while a lute or harp player sits on the croup of the mount^).

The camel rider appears on the Syrian memorial maps, unarmed*) or, as mostly in Palmyra, equipped with scale armor and lance. A bow sheath and small round shield are attached to the saddle^). Palmyra was a metropolis of caravan traffic and as such was dependent on the camel; they remained faithful to this connection until death. When Queen Zenobia tried to escape from the doomed city, she made her escape on camels. And the following period believed that the victorious Aurelian had led the prisoner away on a camel and thus had her raised in his triumph^).

- Fabricius RE 13, 665; CIL. 8,10992; Dessau 9177.
- L. Curtius, Arch. Jahrb. 1928, 286.

- F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 106; the changes in the motif are discussed by T. W. Arnold in: Studien zur Kunst desOsten (J. Strzygowski-Festschrift)95f.
- Yale Class. stud. 5, fig. 47.^ -.^.c i
- H.Ingholt,Smc/ieroi;erPaZmyre7isfcSA:uZpmrTaf.VII2;-Beryms3,116t.;pi.AVlV.
- Malal. p. 300, 4f.; also A. Schenk v. Staufifenberg, Die ro; m. Kaisergesch, at Malalas 386.

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Even the gods could not be imagined without a camel. Of the two 'caravan ' of Palmyra, Arsu and Azizu, the first was depicted as a camel rider^). The reUefs from the peristyle of the Temple of Bel show the solemn procession of a horse and a camel a cult shrine on its back, followed by women in mournful prayer^). In Seleukeia, also a city of transit trade, there was a similar caravan god, again sitting on a camel and carrying a Parthian bow^). The 'horseman-saint* of the Donaula; nder has in him his orienta; ck counterpart; both, horseman and camel god, appear to be virtually connected in the East.*)

The camel had also gained importance for the Roman Empire during the centuries of imperial peace and economic advancement. U@ everywhere it was used: for the transportation of loads, for supplies the army, in the caravan trade, in the procession of images of the gods^), in travel^). The Roman army decided to create a troop of "Dromedaries", comparable to today's Meharists. Palmyra has the tombstone of such a soldier^); the dromedaries were attached to the archery detachments which, from the end of the second century, were modeled on the the local MiHzen of Palmyra,

Osrhoene and others were established. There was also a dromedary troop in the East Bank^).

In A@ gypt, military requisitions of camels were the order of the day. Once again, the animals were used to transport cargo and for the deployment of dromedaries;

- M. Rostovtzeflf, Journ. Rom. stud. 1932, 107f.; Dura-Europos and its art 65f.
- H. Seyrig, Syria 1934, 157f.
- C. Hopkins, Michig, Alumnus Quaterly Review of 4. 12. 37, No. 10, 30 Fig. M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 109f.
- F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes 263f.; H. Seyrig, Syria 1937, 374.
- Philostratus, v. Apoll. 5, 43.

H. Seyrig, Syria 1933, 158; 167f.; pl. XX 1.) Not. dignit. or. 34, 33. For the history of the troops, see E. Stein, Die kaiserl. Beamten u. Truppenko; rper im ro; m. Deutschi, 122 note 14a;

H. Nesselhauf, CIL 16, 3 n. 3; 87 n. 3; S. Lambrino, Rev. de Philol. 1931, 251 f.; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiu; arformationen 41 f.

9

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the cavalry of a Lusitanian cohort counted 19 camels in addition to 214 horses^). In times there were no less than three divisions of dromedaries in the Thebaid. One of them dated to the times of Diocletian and the Tetrarchy, as its name indicates^). During this period, the presence of camels among the troops was already considered a common phenomenon^).

AU these divisions were positioned on the edge of the Wu; ste. In Syria, in the East Bank, they had to compete with the camel riders of the Arabs and Sasanians. But who was their opponent on the edge of the Nubian Wu; ste? In the

In 295, Diocletian assembled a huge force of troops to suppress the uprising.) Marching detachments of the Danube legions, cavalry and also a camel troop were camped in the cities and towns of the province. The

"imperial camels^' stood in Elephantine^): here the empire clashed with the wu; mmen of the Blemmyer and Nubaden , of which the emperor then the

"Two; lf miles of land"' further su; dlich ceded. He allowed them to use the sanctuary of Philai and agreed to pay annual fees^).

It was probably at this time that the Dromedary Corps, whose name back to Diocletian, was created and stationed in Upper A@ gypt. It was responsible for border protection against the two desert tribes and was by two more squadrons in the course of the fourth century. The troop was one of the institutions used by the emperor to establish order in this most threatened part of A@gypt.

The Sto; rians of this order, Blemmyer and Nubaden, lived to the right and below the Nu; s. They were neighbors of Roman A@ gypt and the kingdom of Meroe. Around the middle of the third year

- Th. Mommsen, Ephem, epigr. 7, 458f.; BGU 2, 696.
- Not dignit,, or. 31, 54.

^) Hygin, de mun. castr, 29.

- Pap. Ox. 43; Ritterling, RE. 13, 1359f.; H. M. D. Parker, Journ. Rom. stud. 23, 181.
- Pap. Ox. 43, col. Ulf.

") Procopius, b. Pers. 1, 19; U. Wilcken, Arch. Pap. 1, 396f.; further in P. Jouguet, Mu; nch. Beitr. 19, 87 note 99.

In the late nineteenth century, the Wu; stensta; mme began to ravage both with their attacks. Without support from the

imperial power, Meroe was only able hold out difficulty against the enemy. Its economic prosperity . At the same time, the Blemmyans made the desert roads between the Nile and the Red Sea unsafe. They supported the rebel Firmus, who as a Palmyrene partisan raised the flag of revolt against AureKan. The alliance with the Blemmyans and Palmyrenes^) allowed this man to trading ships from the Red Sea to India; the interests of caravan trade and distant shipping converged here as in southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Under Probus, the nomads were so that they occupied Coptos and Ptolemais in Upper

Egypt^). Diocletian's measures brought only a temporary improvement. Even under him, the tribes could not be deterred from raiding Roman territory despite the annual , and in the following centuries the plague of Blemmy increased steadily.

Again the question arises: were these already camel nomads? The fact that the Romans used dromedaries against them speaks in favor of this assumption. The cruelty and rapacity of the Blemmyans fit in with the nature of the Hamitic desert culture. The situation is no different with warfare: the Blemmy battles are described as heroic individual battles in the Homeric manner in the early Byzantine prize poems and depicted on the people's own petroglyphs^). And as temporary masters of the caravan routes to the Red Sea, as of the Palmyrenes, these Blemmy had to make the acquaintance of the camel, if they did not already possess it.

O@ stHch of Coptos - the starting point of the trade routes to the Red Sea, under Probus virtually in the Blemmyer hand -) C. Seyrig, Melanges Cumont 1, 400.

2) SHA.^ V. Probi 17, 2f.; Zosim. 1, 71, 1. The silence of the mu; nts confirms,
that the emperor himself was not in Egypt. That's right J. Vogt,
D. alexandr.
Mu; nzen 219; u; über seine anderen Vermutungen vgl. die gesimde Skepsis von
J. G. Milne, Catal. Alex, coins XXXIX.) Prize poems on Blemmyersieger: Berl. Klass.-Texte 5, 1, 108f. Cf.
thus the rock painting in L. Frobenius, Kulturgesch. Afrikas Taf. 38.

strange finds have been made^). There are many prehistoric rock paintings, as well as more recent depictions that bear comparison with the carvings of the camel nomads in the Fezzan. Camels and camel riders, warriors and tribal symbols play a major role in them. They were previously thought to be 'Arab' - should they not belonged to the Blemmyem? In their oldest homeland, the Nubian , the same rock carvings recur^). Then this tribe would have been the first Kamehiomads to appear on the borders of the Empire.

What has been presented here is more than a conjecture. A historian from the end of the fourth century, who explicitly refers to older sources^)confirms this. He counts the Blemmy people among the who used the camel in war and peace^). Their common name was
"Saracens"; their range extended from the land of the Assyrians to the rapids of the Nile. There is so much in this that the new use of the camel from the desert tribes of the Mesopotamian frontier and the Arabian peninsula

has gone out^). There we found the animal early and widely in use; from there it spread to northern Africa. For this part of the world, too, the third century marked the beginning of a .

- H. A. Winkler, Vo; lker und Vo; lkerbewegungen im vorgesch. A@gypt 31 f.
- L. Frobenius, op. cit. O. Pl. 33; The archetype, Cicerone zur vorgesch. Reichsbildersamml. 51 Fig.: top right \md bottom left.
- Amm. Marc. 14, 4, 2. *) Amm. Marc. 14, 4, 3.

^) It remains to be asked whether the rock carvings of the North African camel nomads are related to the rather a; hnlich ones that H. StJ. Philby recently discovered in Hadramaut (Wadi Itwad and Hima Valley) (Geogr, Journ. 92, 1938, fig. on p. 5).

CHAPTER FOUR THE ARMY

The century from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocletian takes its name from the soldier emperors. The empire increasingly became the exponent of the soldiers and thus of the army. This army elevates the emperors, supports them, decides on the continuation or end of their reign. Every consideration must begin the army.

Seen from the outside, the army appears to form a uniform organization. The Latin language of command, the uniform armament, a cohesive officer corps, the universal discipline and the shared sense of comradeship had a strong bond. U@ nywhere these troops appeared, a ro; mish character and ro; mish culture appeared in their wake; the army also paved the way culturally for imperial unity.

And yet beneath the surface lay hidden tensions which, once they had taken effect, had to run through the whole body like cracks. between legions and armies, between the large, united on the Rhine, Danube and Euphrates had already emerged in the past. The contrast between the frontier armies, which protected the empire against the barbarians , and the capital city guard, which, favored and , served at the court itself, was also well established. These tendencies intensified in the century of the soldier emperors and determined its course. The fate of the empire as a whole depended on whether it was possible to maintain the unity of the army in the face of opposing .

After Marcus Aurelius' death, the great time of the Roman Guard seemed to have come. Commodus' rule relied on them; it relied all the more on the Pra; torians, the stronger the aversion of the leading classes of the state became. Pertinax succumbed to the same Pra; torians, and Didius JuHanus was forced by them to

throne. He offered the Guard the sum of money of all the contenders; he bought the reign from them.

But this bartering away of the highest dignity, the dishonorable spectacle put on by a greedy soldiery and the haggling, mutually outbidding practitioners, had reached its limit. The troops on the frontier, some of whom had to bear the burden of defending the empire in inhospitable areas, have always felt in comparison to the main garrison . Argwo; hnisch

they observed what was going on in Rome; the orders coming from there were met with criticism. Under Commodus, the Britannic army had revolted against the capitalist regime: a delegation of 1500 men to Rome and demanded the head of the Pra; torian Pra; fect Perennis from the emperor. Then a general uprising was prevented by the assassination of Commodus and the accession of Pertinax. Now the long-delayed movement broke .

Each of the three great frontier armies fielded a man of its choice: the Gallo-British Clodius Albinus, the Syrian-A; gyptian Pescennius Niger, the Illyrian Septimius Severus. As different as the character of these armies, the pra; tendents themselves and the hopes to them were, they were united in not accepting the disgrace of the Pra; torian regiment. The danger was understood in Rome, but only means were found. The gladiators were armed against the Danubian army; the circus elephants were with high-tusked towers. . . Septimius Severus not only overcame Didius Julianus, he also overcame the other competitors. The legions that rose up against him in the east, on the Rhine and in Britain were defeated. The Danubian army carried its commander from victory to victoryand finally to sole possessionof the imperial dignity.

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1.

The fact that a frontier army, by its commander, seized power was nothing new for Rome. Sulla and Caesar had their rule in this way. In the tri-imperial year 69, the Rhine army on the one side and the united legions of the Danube and the East auf der other established the entitlement auf den

imperial throne. And the revolt of Avidius Cassius had once again on the of the Syrian border.

Nevertheless, Septimius Severus's uprising differed from the others that preceded it. It was significant that the Danubian army had become even more important in the course of the second century. Under Antoninus Pius it comprised ten legions with the associated auxiliaries, twice as many as were on the Rhine; his successor was able to command a force in the Marcomannic War that the age not yet seen. Under Commodus, one of the sons of the omnipotent Perennis stood at the head of the Illyrian army. The mere suspicion that he and his father rise to imperial power with the help of this force was enough to bring death to both of them.

In addition, Roman discipline, once elevated to the status of a deity by Hadrian, was beginning to its omnipotence. The Britannic army had given conspicuous signs of insubordination. In Gaul, the deserter Maternus had gathered a mob around him and a successful small war against the state authorities. In the end he had become so cowardly that he sneaked into the capital in disguise and tried to kill the emperor Commodus himself. He had wanted to take his place, it was believed ... The most adventurous thing began to seem possible.

But the decisive factor is to be sought elsewhere. Not mere power, not audacity are lasting in history. What place under Septimius Severus was neither a successful coup d'état nor the violent uprising of a

It was not just an occupying army garrisoned in the borderland faced it and the population as a cohesive body. But with the Illyrian legions, the entire provinces in which they lay rose up in 193, and Illyria as a whole up within the borders of the empire. Previously little noticed, it suddenly became the power factor in the empire.

It was the reorganization of the army system and army augmentation under Hadrian that triggered the A@ change.

Outside the legions, the basic principle of local recruitment applied from the beginning. The replacements were taken from the country in which the auxiliaries were located. The effect of this procedure was that detachments which were named Vindeliker, GalHer or Itura; er according to their original origins, lost their tribal composition when they were relocated. A Gaulish squadron, stationed on the Danube, included Thracians in its ranks and this in its name. It was eventually transferred to Pala; stina and orientalized; there it was transformed into a detachment of dromedary riders^).

The troops thus became an organic part of the landscape in which they were located and from which they were . Under Hadrian, the principle of local recruitment was the legions. From his reign onwards, they too increasingly filled from the children of the camp and from the province in which the troops were located. Legion and province now had the same basis for their existence and the same interests. This had an even greater effect as the boundaries drawn by the Roman administration largely took tribal units into account^). This also benefited the raising of the Danube army.

The Illyrian tribe was a brave people, strong and of tall stature, born soldiers in body and soul. But they were simple-minded and were easily offended.

- S. Lambrino, Rev. de Philol, 1931, 251 f.
- On the following: G. Aubin. in "Kulturstro; mungen und Kuhurprovinzen in den Rheinlanden" (1926) 22f.; F. Vittinghoff, Gnomon 1938, 196f.

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They could be abused if they were persuaded to do so. The African immediately succeeded in stirring them up against the Pra; torians, who had stained themselves with the blood of emperors and citizens. He also knew that his soldiers were well aware of their power: no nation within the empire would dare to stand up to the Illyrian name.

Septimius Severus used his legions to enforce his own personal purposes. But by awakening the instincts of the Illyrian people, by writing the Illyrian slogan on his banners, he both drove and was driven. His men followed him to Rome, to the East and to Britain. However, such loyalty not only bound the soldiers to the emperor, but also the emperor to his Illyrian army.

After the victory over Didius Julianus, the Pra; torians were and their insignia, turned aside in mockery, were carried ahead of the emperor as he marched to the Palatine. The eliminated troops had been recruited from Romanized Spaniards, Noricans and Macedonians; above all, however, the Italic element

had held a privileged position until the end^). In their place came a doubly reinforced^) Guard in a new vo; lkish composition. It had been taken from the proven teams of the Illyrian army. To supplement this, in 202 the second

Parthian legion, also an Illyrian force, was transferred to Albanum, in the neighborhood of Rome. Septimius Severus had thus entrusted his personal security exclusively to soldiers.

ItaUen's pre-eminent position had already dwindled towards the end of the first century. Economically, but also politically and spiritually, it had to make way for other empires. It was succeeded by the provinces of the west, whose Romanization had progressed : at first place the Pyrenean peninsula. After the Spaniards had risen to prominence in literature with Seneca, they took the step towards conquest with Trajan.

^) M. Dnrry, Les cohortes pretoriennes 246 f. 2) M. Durry, a.
O. 86f. 137

of the throne; they maintained it until the end of the Antonines. If there was a change, the next step was for Latin Africa to take precedence.

In the landscapes around the Great and Little Syrte, regiment and culture were already of long standing. Bold Africans already sat in the Senate; Severus and his brother Geta had risen to senatorial rank under Marcus Aurelius. Under the reign of the imperial peace, prosperity increased considerably. In Sabratha, the temples at the forum were built in the course of the second century; in neighboring Leptis Magna, the large thermal baths were completed, the port was already finished and the extensive market had at least begun before Septimius Severus set about the city of his birth with his own buildings and memorials. Around the turn of the century, Africa also entered literature in gla; cient form. An Apuleius, apparently still completely on the ground

standing in classical antiquity, but loosening and transforming it with the means of a refined art, showering it with the sparkling lights of his style - this gla; nzende and , this playful and at the same time longing for salvation, this highly picturesque and highly rational manner appears side by side with the original spirit of TertuUian, who for the first time clothed the Christian world of thought in the garb of perfect Latin speech. The hot passion of his polemics, his exciting antitheses, the legal acuity of his heralded a development that was to culminate in the Bishop of Hippo.

Enough - the fact that Septimius Severus, a native African, ascended the throne seemed to be in keeping with the course of events so far. His rival Clodius Albinus was also of the same origin; Hadrumetum on the Lesser Syrte was his home. And yet one peculiarity stands out. For these emperors relied as little on their immediate homeland as they themselves helped a number of African rulers to power. The army in Britain was raised by Albinus, that on the Danube by Severus. With his victory came not Africanness, but

the Illyrian nation takes the helm. It wins the decisive positions in the army, so that half a century later it can begin to provide the empire with emperors.

This is precisely where the decisive change lies. From then on, it was not the degree of Romanization achieved that was decisive, but the unbroken power of a people little touched civilization. For the first time, 'barbarianism' emerged as a measure of value. It was, as it were, the legal title that one had to present if one wanted to become a

struggle for supremacy within the empire.
In the imperial era, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Dardania belonged to the
- the Illyrian core area, to the empire. It was once inhabited by a Linear Pottery , farmers of pre-Indo-European descent; with the beginning of the Bronze Age, an Indo-European layer settled on . But the old knew how to assert itself: not only in house building, but also in pottery and its ornamental forms, in naming, in the burial of the dead. From the fourth century onwards, a second wave of conquerors appeared: the Celts the Danube region and brought their culture with them. Their headquarters were in Noricum, but they as far as Siebenbu; rgen and into Upper Moesia; the Scordiscans were based in the Morawa valley. The Celts also gained a foothold in the Su; dillyrian mountains: the Japodes in western Bosnia were heavily interspersed with the new immigrants. frequent occurrence of the names Germ- and Teut- la; mme suggests that Germanic speakers were also involved in the new blood mixture^).
The Lyrians resisted Roman domination for a long time, only to succumb to it. Romanization took hold with the new masters. The large military camps were, as everywhere else, the of development. Slowly, culture also penetrated the interior. The newly founded municipalities, populated by discharged veterans of Italian origin, were assigned large parts of the former tribal territories.
^) S. Gutenbrunner, D. german. Go; tternam. 53 note 1 refers to the Japod Teuda CIL. 3, 14326, whose d fu; r speaks of Germanic origin. He thinks of the advance of the KLimbem and Teutons to the Skordiscans. Doubts about
H. Krabe, Indog. Forsch. 56, 47.

In many cases, the local rural population fell into a
^virtual dependence on the new landowners. They had to provide them with day labor or take over the cultivation of the colonists' land under the form of a half-lease {mezzadriaY).
Nevertheless, the indigenous people were able assert themselves. In addition to veterans and other immigrants, the nobility of the Illyrian clans lived in the towns. Under the varnish of the adopted form, they preserved their native ways; customs and costumes bear witness to this. The Eravisci (near Budapest) their Illyrian language, the Cotins their Celtic language for a long time, and it must have been similar elsewhere. The old gods continued to be worshipped under Roman names; the mother goddesses, whose worship was common to the Celts and Germanic tribes, even retained their native names. The women were depicted on the gravestones with heavy shoulder fibulae and hoods on their heads, which were an Illyrian peculiarity. A proud and self-

confident class of landowners and commercial entrepreneurs, tradesmen and craftsmen were be seen everywhere.
Outside of the area, these were even more prominent. The nature of the land favored the adherence to simple and forms. The ro; mish division of the land did not prevail; pasture farming and arable farming continued in the old way. Large parts of the country, especially the Pannonian, were still covered with forest. In the areas of the Karst, the inhabitants have always been forced to work extremelyhard to earn a living. The lack of water is a serious

Fate over the land. The cattle have to be driven from far and wide to find their grazing grounds in the lime mountains. A rigid, whitish stone wall prevents any cultivation. Only where the topsoil has gathered in valleys and hollows does an oasis-like fertility emerge, and the earth mother seems to provide all the more abundantly what she fails to provide elsewhere. Here he^) C. Daicoviciu, Eph. Dacorom. 5, 57 f., esp. 66f.
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The settlements also stand out: unpretentious stone , courtyards and villages, in whose exterior, as in that of their inhabitants, pride in the painstakingly achieved self-assertion has nevertheless been expressed.
The original economic forms corresponded to a culture within which the had survived with astonishing tenacity. Without transition, it stood alongside centers of life such as Salona and Sirmium. Pile dwellings, built on the banks of the Una and Sava rivers in the early centuries of history, remained inhabited until imperial times; like primeval beings, they towered the already overripe and decaying ancient world. The forms of Celtic Latene art were also preserved; they developed into new and unique flowers. The incised drawings on the grave steles of Ribitsch in Bosnia^) contain forms that were at home in Hallstatt and in ancient Venetian crafts. Omitting antiquity, the folk art of these regions goes its prehistoric forms into the early Middle Ages. Eiae barbaric-healthy folk power had everywhere unbroken preserved. The Illyrian countries were characterized by a high birth rate^). In intermittent succession they gave their healthy and vigorous people to other parts of the empire; they

were at the forefront of the repopulation of the border areas south and north of the Danube. Even today, it is said of Herzegovina that it can populate the world without itself.
Through battles with warlike neighbors, the young team of Illyria fell into despair . Hunting wild animals kept them strong. From early on they were used to enduring every complaint. The cities with their effeminacy could not harm this race. They gladly remembered their origins and the former tribal constitution was preserved until the Hadrianic period. Among the Eravisci, in the immediate vicinity of Aquincum, the capital of lower Pannonia, it even lasted until the third century.

- D. Sergej ewski, Pra; hist. Zeitschr. 27, 211 f.

• C. Patsch, Sitz.-Ber. Wiener Ak. Wiss. 217, 1, 194f.
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Most of these held a special position. While the legions were otherwise recruited from the and the auxi;cians from the countryside, things were different in Pannonia, the Dalmatian mountains and Moesia . The small number of urban centers forced the legions to be from the rural tribal communities. They were often granted Roman order to create the conditions for service in the higher troop class. They did not want to miss out on the excellent Illyrian soldier material and were therefore prepared to make concessions. The Cotians, who provided numerous teams for the guard in the first half of the third century, were still subjects without rights under Emperor Marcus, but were then quickly raised to their privileged position^).

In all this, the Illyrian Kemlands occupied a special position; things were already different in neighboring Noricum with its stronger urban development. The rise of the Lyrians was therefore a remarkable turning point. Ancient culture and the ancient state had hitherto been on the essence; it had prevailed from the times of the Greek PoHs until the spread of imperial civilization brought about by deliberate consolidation. Now, for the first time, a departure from this unambiguous attitude came to light.
The significance of this shift was clearly understood by those who were concerned. With desperate bravery, the of Byzantium defended themselves against the Moesian legions for almost three years. When Maximin approached ItaHen, the inhabitants left their cities before his Illyrians and other barbarians. War broke out in its harshest forms in front of the well-guarded Aquileia, covered behind river and canals. While the soldiers cut down the vines and fruit and thus sought to destroy the foundations of economic prosperity, the city, in a burst of great civic spirit, mustered a resistance that befitted the predecessor of Venice. The walls were set in1) A. Alfo; ldi, Camhr. Anc, HisU 11, 546 note 2.
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The city was rebuilt from the stone bridge over the Isonzo, which had fallen into disrepair during the long period of peace. The stone bridge over the Isonzo was demolished; Maximin had to build an emergency footbridge with the help of empty wine barrels to make the crossing .

Soldiers rarely provide suitable soldier material in open fields or for far-reaching operations in the distance. Their strength lies in the defense of their native soil. Right at the beginning, the Illyrians suffered bloody in front of the walls; the burning pitch raged terribly among the soldiers. Aquileia was well aware of what lay ahead for the city in the event of conquest: it was destined to be used as an enclosure and pasture for cattle.
The "aquu; ean war", as contemporaries called it^), was the undoing of Maximin and his house. The ItaHc citizens, however, who had fought so bravely against Maximin's semi-barbarian army, saw their savior in a barbarian god. The Celtic Belenus, who had been worshipped in the Carnic

Alps and in Noricum since time immemorial, was given the epithet Augustus. This was also a sign of the changed times.

A new epoch had dawned, as revolutionary and incisive as naught else in history. It did not only mean that barbarism came before Romanization, the peasant being before the city. But the frontiersman now the citizen-soldier; the marginal province gained the upper hand over the former centers of the empire, the unformed power over education.

2.

The British and Syrian armies competed the Illyrian army for supremacy. The opposition of the former remained an episode; the situation was different with the eastern army. His 1) R. Paribeni, iVsc. 1928, 344; A. Stein, Hermes 1930, 228 f.

The uprising is the continuation of an event that place little more than a century ago: the uprising of Avidius Cassius. It was quickly , but just how it was is shown by the fact that this was the first time that an Syrian stood at the head of his homeland and the neighboring provinces. In 193things were less open. Pescennius Niger was no more an Oriental than his opponent Septimius Severus was an Illyrian; he came from the Italian knighthood. But one be if one wanted to misjudge the of the ;ons from the peoples and regions. Once again, an entire nation rose up with the army: the eastern part of the empire stood up against its western parts. It will be seen that there also a surplus of barbarian strength there, which led to military restraint.

The opposition between the Danubian army and the Syrian legions, the East in general, was not of yesterday. Under Hadrian, a powerful Dalmatian, Julius Severus, had smothered the revolt of the Jews in streams of blood. In the uprising of Avidius Cassius, the opposition had once again to light. The army of the East as far as Cilicia was attached to the Syrian usurper. "All the that fell away with Cassius: , Syrians, Jews, Egyptians", a historian of the time has the emperor Marcus say to his core IQyrian troops, "have never been superior to you and never will be, even if they as superior you in number as they are now in truth you. Even Cassius himself, who enjoys the reputation of being a capable and successful general, is no longer a notable general as the leader of only weak and ineffective forces, and the Arab and Parthian war was not to a victorious end by Cassius, but by you."

In fact, the Syrian legions were no match for the Illyrians. The human material was less , and the dispositions of the undermined physical strength and manhood. The hardships of camp life were rarely demanded and endured unwillingly. For the most part, these troops lay in civilian quarters, a burden to the inhabitants and a burden to the

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to their own disadvantage. There were long-serving soldiers who had never been on guard duty and looked upon the encampment like a wonder of the world. Well groomed and

so little demanded by the service that they were able to run a lucrative business on the side, they lived the peaceful life of the city).
Septimius Severus' victory over Niger confirmed the supremacy of the Illyrian legions over the eastern ; it has not been disputed since. The battle between Macrinus and Elagabal bHeb mihta; risch imentschieden. Although only the Illyrian guard fought against the followers of the Syrian Pra; tendent, although the second Parthian legion, made up of lUyrians and equal in rank to the Pra; torians, had already fallen away from Macrinus, the Orientals were made to give way. The Emesenian women, who had created Elagabal, got down from their chariot in vain and threw themselves in the way of the fugitives. After a short halt, the line of battle gave way again. Only the headless flight of the

man they were fighting for gave the victorious Illyrians pause, convincing them of the hopelessness of their cause. Elagabal, however, had to promise them impunity; he accepted them as his own guard. And yet these Illyrians had a military rival in the East. All too quickly they had come to despise the Oriental. Certainly "he loves softness and calm, but he goes to persistent activity with ease. At the same time, he possesses that personal courage that tends to emerge from a strong constitution. Of medium stature, but gifted with athletic strength, he is an excellent horseman and " (Moltke).
When Niger was by the combined might of his opponent, he requested support from Armenia, the Parthians and Hatra. The lord of the Mesopotamian city sent him his , who joined the Syrian army. It is not known whether they proved themselves at the time, but Septimius Severus learned the significance of this orientaHc troop and its way of fighting on

^) Cf. Tac, ann. 13, 35. M. Rostovtzefif, Excavat, at Dura-Europos 1932/33, 303f. has shown on the basis of rich material that these conditions continued to exist.

his second Parthian campaign. Hatra, whose punishment he was eager to punish, put up insurmountable resistance. A hail of arrows that rained down on the attackers from the walls thwarted all efforts. At that time, even the Illyrian legions refused to obey; in their place, the Syrians had to be ordered to fight, freely and with just as little success.
It was not in itself a new world that Rome encountered at that time. But it was then that it first gained lasting influence. While the Illyrian states themselves to placing their unbroken national strength the disposal of the empire and otherwise conformed to the traditional tactics of the Roman army, the East imposed its own way of fighting on the Romans^).
The of Trajan shows a troop in the midst of , Dacians and Germanic tribes that stands out from its surroundings in terms of costume and weaponry. Dressed in long pleated robes that almost reach their ankles and leather collars pulled them, they are with bows and swords. A tendon guard is worn on the left forearm, consisting of clasps. The head is shielded by a high, conical helmet with cheek flaps, forehead and neck protectors. The faces with their full curves, small eyes and hooked nose emphasize the strange impression. from Syria or Armenia here on the Roman side, barbarians of the East against those on the Danube.

In the following period, too, the Syrian troops appeared in the garrisons of Dacia^). A@ lter still is the use of these troops in their own homeland. The endurance and agility of these mounted troops alone allowed them to meet the demands of the deserts and plains of the Syrian-Mesopotamian border. Palmyra had had its own militia of since time immemorial, as well as

- Summarizing about the archery in the ro; m. Army:

H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, Laureae Aquincenses 1, 229 f.

- V. Christescu, Istoria militara; a Daciei Romane 199f.; H. T. Rowell, RE. Art. 'Numerus' sp. 2553f.; H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, op. cit. C. Daicoviciu has astutely analyzed Palmyrene arches Porolissum (Ann. Inst. Stud. Clas., Cluj. 2, 71 f). I am not convinced by Rowell's objections (l.c. 2551).

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the KUentelko; nige on the Syrian-Mesopotamian border. Such a force also existed further , in the Hauran and the Druze Mountains. When these areas were incorporated into the empire, part of them were to the Roman army. From then on, in addition to the local contingent, Roman cohorts of this army were also encountered, which designated according to their origin from the Ituraea or Chalcis.

In general, the second century saw a considerable increase in archery weaponry, in which the Syrians and their neighbors occupied the most prominent position alongside the Thracians. All these divisions were not only recruited from Syrians, Ituraeans, Commagenans or people from Ascalon and Damascus, Emesa and Chalcis when they were first formed, but it was the rule that this continued to be the case^). The principle of recruiting troops from the respective headquarters, which otherwise applied, was broken here . This

Archery formations were drawn exclusively from the east and thus began to form a cohesive body within the army as a whole. The only exceptions were the command posts, which were preferably entrusted to Italians^).

A new step was taken with Septimius. It was not least due to the experience the emperor had gained in his eastern campaigns.

The Palmyrenians and their neighbors had previously fought alongside the Roman troops as symmacharii, formed and equipped in the native manner. Now they were reorganized into units that were incorporated into the army itself. Formed into cohorts, they were also given Roman uniforms, as the fresco of their tribune Terentius in Dura shows^). The number of divisions created at that time was not small. Between ten and twenty thousand men were deployed on foot and on horseback.

It is no coincidence that it was Septimius Severus, the husband of the Syrian Julia Domna, who took this further step. The

- H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, op. cit. O. 234f.; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen 144 Anm. 467.
- H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, op. cit. O. 236. 2) M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its an 96.

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The introduction of the new archers meant a considerable strengthening of Syrianism and thus of the East in the Roman army in general. They acted as a counterweight the all-powerful LUyrianism.

This countermovement did not originate from the soil of ancient civilization either. As with the Illyrians, so with the archers came a 'barbarian' wave: a people who had not belonged to the traditions of the Hellenistic-Roman world. In contrast to the Syrian legions, the main mass of the new troops were not recruited from the deserted and Hellenized parts of the country. They came from eastern Syria, the border strip where settled life merged into the nomadic area. This border was ancient: in prehistoric and early historical times, a series of city , east of the Aleppo-Emesa-Damascus line, formed the dividing line. Beyond this, the settlement forms that still the Orontes valley begin recede. The villages with their beehive-shaped , their clay walls and canals become rarer. They are replaced by black nomad tents. The arable land gives way to pasture the herds of camelssheep and goats, for which the stony ground still provides enough food and which in turn the owners to live comfortably. Only where a spring or an ingenious irrigation system allows for cultivation is there still an isolated settlement, surrounded by protective forests.

The new troops came from these less rural than nomadic areas. The archers on foot may have been recruited from the villages and the settled nomads, the mostly form their population; those on horseback came from the wandering Arab . Nowhere was there a tribal element: the turmoil of a people by civilization rose up, here as well as in Illyria, against the forces that had hitherto dominated the life of the ancient world. Septimius Severus and his house left the Syrian homeland of Julia Domna with many

Promotion. Baalbek wears honors at the entrance hall of his great temple.

Inscriptions Caracalla; Laodicea, which had taken sides against Niger and Severus, enjoyed the emperor's benevolence and was endowed by him with privileges and buildings^). The favoritism to the peripheral areas in the east. Palmyra, from whose peasant and nomadic tribesmen the new archery force was raised, was given the status of a Latin colony^).

The has its own spirit. It has its rapid , the changing play of its colors, its vastness and the bizarre world of its mirages. Lively imagination, an ebb and flow of passions, agility and quick temper characterize its inhabitants. They despise the life of the townsfolk and peasants, their sedentariness and comfort; no advantage the so; ciety of the desert to exchange the life of great fluctuations for the regularity of others, free roaming for confinement and persistence. The to-and-fro of flight and pursuit, swarming and unexpected invasions fulfill the nomad's way of fighting. Mobility and distance - in other : horse and bow are their weapons.

Just as camels made up the wealth of the Bedouin, so the possession of the horse is his pride. He is attached to it from early on; his existence as a warrior and free master is based on it. The nervous and agile, shy and courageous 'Arabian' horse, which reacts to every influence, is like the image of its rider.

If such use of the horse was already foreign to the , then even more so that of the bow. A whole series of Indo-European peoples in Europe have resolutely adopted this

Weapon was rejected as impertinent. Rome is not alone: the majority of the Germanic peoples and the Greeks since the Homeric period did not judge
^) J. Sauvaget, Bulletin d"Stu; des orientales 4, 81 f.; especially 113f.
2) U@ on Palmyra's introduction into the Roman Empire see H. Seyrig, Syria 13, 266f;
14,152 f. The establishment of cohortes was associated with the conferral of citizenship.
inwardly together (this against H. T. Rowell, RE. Art. 'Numerus' sp. 1334).
On the conditions in Dura see C. B. Welles, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932/33, 437.
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different. Heracles, who acquired the bow, is depicted with a club, sometimes with a sword; in the Trago; die he is reproached for using the bow in a lofty speech. It was left to Emperor Commodus to make A@ changes to this. He, who did not shy away from styled as an in front of everyone, had himself honored as a "Roman hero". Perhaps he liked to believe that he had stood up for the hitherto little respected weapon of his heroic role model in this way.
Even if Commodus achieved his triumphs in the circus, the fact that he took Parthians as well as Moors as teachers of the art of archery makes one sit up and take notice; it presupposes an appreciation of the eastern way of fighting. In fact, these archers now stood everywhere as detachments on the frontiers^). They were found in Britain and on the Rhine as well as in Mauretania, Numidia and Egypt. They were particularly numerous on the Danube border

here mixed with Thracian divisions; they continued eastwards to the Bosporan cities^). It is clear that the value of these formations had been recognized. In the west of Africa, in Su;russia and the Imgarian lowlands, they were just as much in place against the invading equestrian peoples as in the border region on the Euphrates, in the battle with the Parthians.
The course of events did not stop there; it forced an even more extensive use of the oriental troops. They became the emperors' household and personal troops, insofar as they themselves were of oriental origin.
Since the rise of Septimius Severus, the Illyrians had undisputed supremacy within the army. They had to stand their ground in Caracalla's Parthian war and also in the Persian and Germanic wars of Alexander Severus. However, the oriental rulers had a hard time dealing with the recalcitrance and reluctance of these core troops. The Illyrian guard put up the toughest resistance against the elevation of Elagabal to emperor.
^) H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, op. cit. O. 233 f. 2) F. Cumont, Fouilles de Doura 335 f.
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Resistance. During Alexander Severus' campaigns, the difficulties became even more pronounced; the historian Cassius Dio, who had to deal with the Pannonians of the guard in the emperor's service, knew a thing or two about this. During the Persian campaign, the Illyrian soldiers could not tolerate the unfamiliar climate of Mesopotamia and died en masse. Nevertheless, they had

to bear the brunt of the battle, which brought so little success; they did not hesitate blame the cowardice of the emperor. Bitterness rose to a high pitch when the Illyrians heard that the Germanic tribes had broken into their homeland , that their next

The Persians' relatives fell victim to the enemy's swords. In this way, they forced the Persian war to be broken off and the march to the Rhine. The emperor surrendered to them; there he was to suffer the bitterness and contempt of his u; lyrical troops.

What could be more natural than for Alexander Severus to seek a counterweight to his rebellious legions? He found it by resorting to the original weapon of his homeland. When he set out for the Rhine, he carried a newly formed corps of archers with him. They were not drawn from subjects of the empire or Palmyrenes, but had been in the old way from the crews of the eastern coastal . The main influx came from the Ottoman kingdom. In Edessa, everyone knew how to shoot a bow. An eyewitness reports that even the Gnostic Bardesanes, as a noble man and living at the king's court, was a master of this weapon. Armenians and a corps of Parthian overlords and mercenaries the Ottomans.

When Maximin marched across the Rhine and against the Germanic tribes after Alexander's death, the mass of these troops followed him. Caracalla, who had the then lord of Edessa removed and his kingdom invaded^), had already used the forces of the Osrhoenian troops against the men of the north. But it was not until 238 that the troops were deployed with determination and in mass; they acquired a reputation as a formidable weapon, which they retained until the following century. 1) For the dating Bellinger-Welles, Yale Class. Stud, 5, 142f.

The fighting of the Germanic tribes is often described by Romanians as haphazard disorder. A kind of berserk rage,

a lack of discipline and calculation prevented them from achieving lasting success, despite warlike advantages. However, the same news indicates that the Germanic tribes' "mixed" fighting style, which used horsemen and foot soldiers together , was a well-considered and at the same time effective tactic. The poor cover and an armament that had to largely dispense with the sword in favor of the lance due to a lack of iron forced a special procedure against a heavily armored and tightly closed enemy such as the Romans. Hand-to-hand combat had to be avoided, especially if it threatened to develop into a protracted melee. On the other hand, it was important to through the enemy ranks in a plo; tzUchem and uninhibited attack. Overrunning had to take the place of slow, low . Only then did the light armament of the Germanic tribes have the advantage greater mobility.

In their the Romans possessed an instrument that was better suited than any other to counter such Germanic fighting styles. For they were no less agile than their opponents, and their arrows hit the uncovered bodies of the Germanic tribes; they hit them all the more easily as these bodies offered a

good target due to their massiveness. The compound 'reflex' bow, which the East Germanic armies had adopted from their Parthian neighbors^), surpassed the simple 'convex' bow of an older type considerably in range and penetrating power. In the forts of the Upper Germanic and Ra; tic limes, the leg plates that to the stiffeners of that bow can be found everywhere. Mostly they go with inscriptions

Testimonies that indicate the presence of the archers^).
The new weapon did not fail to have an effect on the Germanic tribes. It caused them trouble like no other; the successes

- Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 37.

-) K. Stade, Germania 1933, 110f.; further literature in H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts, op. cit. O. 1, 241 note 90.

of Maximin's campaign speak this. We are faced with the astonishing fact that not only had an fighting style, which was originally completely foreign to the Roman Empire, established a home in the army and empire, even a position of supremacy, but that the barbarians of the north were fought with means that had been learned from the barbarians of the east. It is all the more strange that the bowshoes disappeared at this high point of their effectiveness. They are no longer to be found in the history of Germanic warfare, at least not for a long time. They leave the west of the empire altogether and do so just at a moment when the victims of the troops, the oriental emperors, also leave the for their part.
The emperor Maximin already had to with a conspiracy of his Osrhoenians on the Rhine, who even had the temerity to set up a counter-emperor. At the Numidian Limes, the inscriptions mentioning a troop of Palmyrene or Emesian troops end with Gordianus III. The discharged veterans of this troop settled as colons, and they and their sons continued to defend the border, but there were no fresh supplies. The same thing happened on the Danube. The biographer of the emperor Claudius describes him, before the decisive battle with the Goths, at the

Senate report: "There are no shields or swords, not even spears. Gaul and Spain, the empire's sources of power, are in the hands of a counter-emperor. And all the bows and , one is ashamed to say, are in the hands of Zenobia".
With these last words, the decisive point has been made. Just as the heyday of the Oriental archers coincided with the reign of the emperors of the same origin, they to their homeland at the moment when the East began to itself from the empire. The more consistently the Palmyrene suzerainty was extended and the more independent it grew, the more it had to on its own auxiliary forces. Conversely, the West had to look for other substitutes; it remains to be seen in what form this took place.

3.

On one of the newly discovered rock reliefs from Tang-i- Sarvak^), a rider covered from head to toe in iron appears on an equally iron-armored horse. He is attacking with a full thrusting lance; he is accompanied by an archer. The combination of both weapons on this still Parthian monument is not accidental. The archers are countered by the heavy armored cavalry. The two had belonged together since the Parthians had invaded Iran and thus put its entire fighting style on a new footing. In the battle with Crassus, Surenas had brought the tactics that combined both weapons to their peak. The Sasanians had taken over what their predecessors had created; if anything, they had the importance and armament of the heavy troops.

It only natural that the Oriental emperors, just as they tried to develop the archer into a dominant weapon also made such an attempt with the armored. A@ similarly to there, they were able to fall back on older approaches. Rome had had such a force at least since the reign of Hadrian; it stood on the Danube border and had originated from the fusion of a Gallic and a Pannonian force^). It was further under Alexander Severin. During the war he had to against the first Sasanians, Roman horsemen are said to have equipped themselves with the captured weapons of their heavily Persian opponents. In fact, a force appeared on the scene at that time that regarded itself as something new compared to the previous ones and this in character and name.
What did the new troops look like? A fresco from Dura depicts an equestrian battle between and Persians. On the Roman side, the soldiers themselves are from head to toe in armor, but this covering extended to the horse.
^) Sir Aurel Stein, Geograph. Journ. 92, 323 and Fig. 8.

- Cichorius, RE. 1, 1245f.; H. Nesselhauf on CIL. 16, 110; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der ro; m. Auxiliary form. 39.

not. Accordingly, these heavy horsemen were called "cataphracts" after their full-length armor, which was limited to the man. In any case, their armament was lighter than that of the later Clibanarians, whose riders and animals were equally encased in iron. Finds made in the same dura, however, already show the use of armor for both, made of bronze and iron scales^).

In contrast to the older cataphracts, which may have been armed along the Danube according to the Sarmatian model, the model for the later ones was to be found in the Iranian east. The feared armored horsemen of the Sasanian armies were the model here. The covering of rider and horse had existed since Achaimenid times^). In addition, there were various transitional forms to lighter armament: armored lancers on unarmored animals or archers on those that wore a partial covering^). The type of use, as well as the economic power of the individual, will have determined the type and extent of armor.
Assembled on the eastern border*), the new troops moved to the Rhine with the oriental emperor who had founded them. They experienced the entire fate of the army there. Under Maximin, it fought against the Alamanni and also took part in the civil war against the two Senate emperors Pupienus and Balbinus. According to eastern custom, the heavy squadrons appeared united with the light troops^): as in the armies of Iran, as in the nomadic tribes of

Central Asia and Eastern Europe, knights and archers fought shoulder to . Later, the travelers to their eastern homeland.

In the period that followed, there is no word of any further use of the cataphracts. They had also disappeared from the ranks of the army with the transfer of the east to Palmyra.

- F. E. Brown in Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, 440f.
- F. E. Brown, op. cit. O. 444f.; Verf., Weltherrsch, and Crisis 199.
- F. E. Brown, op. O. 306 fig. 22.

*) On the following E. Stein, Die kaiserl. Beamten und Truppenko; rper im ro; m.

Germany 128f.) P. Goessler, Germania 15, 11. 155

the same as the palmyreniscile arches themselves. But while a fully adequate replacement was found for these, it was not initially created for the cataphracts; it was not even tried. When Aurelian the armed Palmyrene cavalry, he had to rely entirely on the strength of his Illyrians. At the first encounter, the Dalmatian cavalry fatigued the heavily armored troops by disguised flight until man and horse were by heat, dust and exertion; under renewed attack, their resistance completely collapsed. However, in the second and decisive battle, this method no longer worked. The Palmyrenes were on their guard and put the Dalmatians and Moors in most severe distress, so that the burden of the battle rested entirely on the foot troops. These finally mastered the enemy, with the iron-clad clubs of the Palestinian auxiliaries^) doing their bit; the novelty of the weapon had confused the overly confident armored horsemen.

While the cataphract weapon was missing from the Roman army here, it was back in the following period. Galerius' bodyguard on the triumphal arch of Salonika wears the scale armor, the spangenhelm and has the dragon flag as a field sign. This eastern outfit is reminiscent of the cataphracts. Shortly afterwards, the heavy horseman appears in fully formed form: an iron armor not only encased the man, but went down over the head and chest of the horse to the legs, but in such a way that movement was not hindered. The new troop was the Iranian name of Klibanarians; the Eastern origin was again clear. The Gallic-Germanic army of Constantine was blocked by the

invasion of northern Italy, an army of such Clibanarians crossed the way. The iron-covered mass formed up in the shape of a wedge to blast the enemy apart in a mighty charge.

- Zosim. 1, 53, 2; cf. 52, 4. RitterHng, RE. 12, 1344 thinks of legionary vexillations. The excavations at Dura have meanwhile produced an Oireipr] o; tubeKOtTT] TTaXaiaxeiviju; v leouripiavri 'AXeHavo; piavr] (232 a. Zw.) (C. B. Welles in Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932/33, 434 f.; P. Thomsen, Phil. Woch. 1938, 243).

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This anticipated the tactics of the armored armies of knights. The wedge formation, the one-time deployment of the entire striking force, disregarding any restraint, the will to force the battle decision through the heavy cavalry

weapon - all this meant the Middle Ages in its ounced form. As in the Sasanian Empire, the transition in the West is also to be grasped; it lies freely beyond the epoch discussed here.

In the Germanic north, spa; tro; mish cataphracts and early medieval knights merge directly^). The tombs of the old Swedish Upsala provide the intermediate forms: the traveling lords, who were buried here together with their war horses, wore the breastplate over the chain mail, carried the long thrusting lance like the cataphracts^) in addition to the bow and arrows. The heavy helmets, covered with the intertwined ligaments and limbs of the North Germanic animal style, were a replica of a form used by the armored cavalry troops of the spa; tro; mish army^). These forms reached the north via the Su; dgermanic , where they helped to create the knightly type.

Even King Arthur with his knights, the model of medieval heroism, was originally nothing other than the leader of a band of cataphracts armed in the spa; tro; mish manner^). In the oldest tradition, he also bore a Roman title; his armament consisted of a golden dragon helmet and a suit of armor, the Roman origin of which still shines through in his Celtic name; at one point he is even described as an emperor.

- Kj0benhavns Nationalmuseets Vejledninger. Oldtiden (1937) 87 ill.
- The contents of the still unpublished Tomb 8 at Gamla Upsala, now in the Gustavianum in Upsala, are particularly illustrative.
- U@ on the helmet from grave 5 and that of the equites Stablesiani (Not. dignit., ed. 0. Seeck, in the index p. 319 s. v.) from De Peel in Brabant cf. most recently SheteligFalk, Scandinavian Archeol. 258 (where further literature is given) and A. Alfo; ldi, Acta Arch. 1934, 99f.; pl. VI-VII.

*) Fundamental' R. G. CoUingwood-J. N. L. Myres, Roman Britain 320f.; literature on p. 477 f. - J. Weisweiler refers me to the fact that the name of the tank cymr. llwrwe contains a lat. lorica (E. Windisch, Abb. Sachs. Ges. Wiss., phil.-hist. IQ. 29 [1912], 6, 143). The title amorandur= lat. imperator in A. W. Wade-Evans, Welsh Medieval laws p. XXXVII.

It can be taken literally when the KUbanarian is described as the precursor of the medieval knight. A momentous change in tactics was in the offing here. Of course, such changes do not tend to take hold at the first attempt. The history of war, right up to the present day, offers enough examples of weapons whose handling and

The first time they come to light, they fail. It was the same here. The time had not yet come when Constantius' armored horsemen won victory over Magnentius' Gallic-Germanic army in the second battle of Mursa in 351.

The Kubanarians' attempt to break through failed against Constantine's army. His cavalry evaded the thrust, and the armored forces had no light force at their that have closed in on the enemy. On the contrary, the Moorish archers fought on the opposite side. Thus, the heavily maneuverable Ka; mpenin were by

a force they were no match for and then attacked with iron-shod clubs. The same means that Aurelian's soldiers had used with equal success in the battle with the Palmyrene cataphracts.

The armored knight army did not establish itself immediately: its introduction was slow and accompanied by ; only parts of the entire army tried the new weapon. Although the future to it, there was resistance to it in Rome. It was certainly the foreignness of the KHbanarius that played a role here. When Constantius II made his entrance into Rome, the crowds marveled at the purple dragon flags that in the wind from gilded and gemstone-covered lances. They marveled at the Clibanarians in their , tight-fitting armor that covered their faces^), torsos and thighs; these warriors seemed more like bronze statues than living people. . . But it was not only such a; nterior strangeness that made the heavy cavalry slow to enter: the fighting style itself contradicted Roman nature.

^) A metal face mask tra; gt the cataphract Excavat, at Dura-Euroms 1930/31, pl. XXI 3; cf. 1932-33, 306.

The Klibanarians did not consist of individual ; their strength lay in their massed deployment. Closely closed in, they sought to the enemy in a mighty charge. Armored and hiding behind a wall lances, they were reminiscent of the Macedonian phalanx, except that the mounted troops were swift and their thrust even more irresistible. KUbanarians and phalanx meant a machine of destruction, with all the advantages and disadvantages of such a machine. The onslaught was irresistible if it was carried out under certain conditions. But if the terrain was unfavorable or the enemy knew how to dodge and , the weapon turned against the one wielding it. Heaviness was transformed into ineffectuality, mass into confusion. This supreme increase in technical thinking was subject to the error of everything technical and specialized: it the free decision. Acting "to the circumstances", described by Napoleon until now as the last word in strategic wisdom, disappeared in the blink of an eye as the machine got going. One had to let it take its course, whether it worked to one's own disadvantage or that of the enemy remained to be seen.

In the times of their ascendancy, when they fought against Philip, Antiochus and Perseus, the Romans had put an end to the Macedonian phalanx with their agile deployment, their swift decisiveness and their ability to adapt to all vicissitudes. Hellenistic tactics had then reached the peak of their mechanization. In addition to the phalanx, extensive and with throwing weapons

They were equipped with defensive lines, special light and heavy weapons, elephants and even then the cataphracts. Antiochos, who had great faith in them, used them in the battle of Magnesia, although they did not live up to expectations. Against all this, the Romans brought something simple to honor: man himself. With them it was unforgotten that the legions, cohorts and squadrons, which obeyed the orders of their commander without will, which

seemed to be only tools in his hands - that they were composed of thinking and acting, living men.
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They did not hesitate to make use of the reserve of strength and possible superiority.
Phalanx-type war 'machines' have this in common with other machines, that a disruption to the process threatens to render them ineffective. They cannot adapt, cannot change: they are incapable of repairing damage on their own. The strength of the self-reliant person, on the other hand, lies in his moral energies. Even in desperate situations, one can hope to get the last out of them. , resourcefulness, resilience and commitment are often heightened to unexpected levels by danger.
The same capabilities had been used against the cataphract army. When the Palmyrenian armored forces carelessly pursued their initial success in the battle of Emesa, Aurehan's infantry spied the gap in the enemy line of battle and threw themselves into it. The same grasp of the situation, the same determination to it, had allowed the Romans at Pydna to master the Macedonian onslaught; they also took the phalanx

of Antiochos . The force of the enemy's thrust was allowed to run dry and they fell upon those in disarray. In everything, the best of the invasion was taken up again.
At first glance, the Roman war history of the third century presents a picture of alienation. New branches of arms, taken over from outside, outstrip the existing ones. From all sides, marginalized peoples invade the borders of the empire and, in order to fend them off, the empire itself has to on barbarian .
One is prompted to ask where the Roman essence was still preserved at all. It is no longer evident that it was present and that it was effective. It will be confirmed that Romanism played a role in these times than it at first appears.
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Abb. 39. Palmyrenische Bogenschützen, Trajanssäule, Rom (S. 146).

Abb. 40. Orientalischer Bogenschütze, Trajanssäule, Rom (S. 146).

Abb. 41. Maurische Speerwerfer. Trajanssäule, Rom (S. 161f.).

Abb. 42. Maurischer Bogenschütze. Fries des Konstantinsbogens, Rom (S. 160).

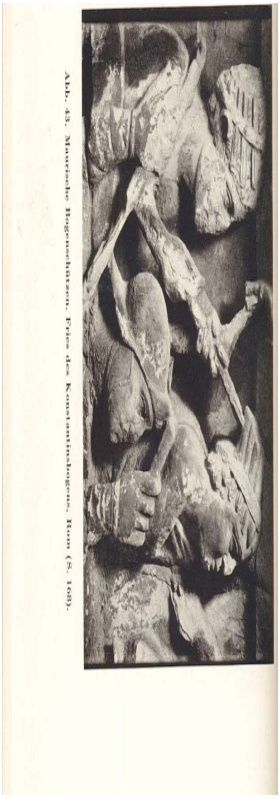

Abb. 43. Maurische Bogenschützen. Fries des Konstantinsbogens, Rom (S. 169).

4.

For a long time, a similar force had stood alongside the of the East: the Moorish , also on horseback and fighting in a mobile formation. The fame of the Moors dated from

since time immemorial. Their cavalry was regarded as irresistible, whether pursued the fleeing ones in hot or threw themselves unexpectedly on those advancing too confident of victory after a disguised escape. They had become to warfare through robbery and raids; nomads like the Scythians, they were even more elusive than the latter, since they did not their wives and children in heavy covered wagons, but also on horseback. Their agility was so great that they were able to steer the animals at full speed without using the reins and with their bare feet.

Being the nomads that they were, the Moors loosely organized. In Mauretania they were commanded by a Roman officer of knightly rank^); in Trajan's Dacian war, on the other hand, they fought under a native prince who was not

even a Roman subject but a free man of the desert^). Irregular Moorish troops also encountered in Dacia in the following period^).
These Moors appear in the picture on the Trajanssa; ule. Their horses are very different from the ro; mish ones: a fiery beat, characterized by smallness and agility. But despite their fire, which itself in their streamlined mouths and flowing tails, in the blaze of their noses, they are easy to control. A plaited rope around the neck sufficient; otherwise they are unbridled and unsaddled. The riders themselves are equipped with throwing spears and small shields. Their beards are strange, with long, elaborate curls; the hair on their heads is worn

^) R. Cagnat, Uarmee Romaine d^Afrique 327f.

2)Th. Mommsen, Hermes 19, 226 note 4; A. v. Premerstein, Klio 12, 173; Beih. 8, 63 note 1; Dessau 2006; CIL. III p.
1989; cf. p. 2328, 64; E. Stein, Die kaiserl. Beamten 134; 242f. Most recently J. Carcopino, Istros 1, 5 f.

^) V. Christescu, Istoria militara; a Daciei Romane 196f.; H. T. Rowell, RE. Art. "Numerus' Nachr. 2546f.
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They are braided into short that frame the face like a cap. A@ similar costumes can be seen in today's African .
Even under Trajan, the Moors were put to a new use. As in the Dacian war, they followed the emperor against the Parthians. But it was only at the time when the Syrian rose to the height of their fame that the Africans really came to the fore. Commodus, along with the Parthians, used the Moors as masters in the use of the bow; perhaps he took from them his skill of shooting the ostriches in the circus using arrows with a crescent-shaped tip. On the Mesopotamian border stood Moorish ; they were preceded by a reputation for murderousness and contempt for death, and at least they proved the first when Pescennius Niger unleashed them against the seceded cities of Syria. Caracalla took the same troops with him in his Parthian war, and later they fought in the army of Macrinus, first against the Parthian horsemen, then in the battles for the throne. This emperor was himself a Mauritanian; he could be recognized as such by his , which was pierced according to Moorish custom. The spearheads were attached to Macrinus as a compatriot with special powers. As the Syrians and Illyrians did with the emperors of their blood, so did these Moors; everywhere the soldiers began to regard the empire as the domain of a particular people. What was shamefully missing, apart from the masses of o; sthcher archers that Alexander Severin's against the Germanic tribes, were the

Moorish spearmen did not. They were also among the house and guard formations, it seems; at least the irregulars from North Africa must have belonged to the core troops of the army like those from Eastern Greece and Armenia.
Under PhiHppus Arabs, the Moors were once again deployed against the northern . The fierce fighting spirit of this cavalry broke the resistance of the Carps, who had invaded Dacia and already considered themselves masters of

the land. The importance of the troops even at that time can be seen from the uprising of AemiHanuA@, a native Moor from Girba
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before^). An excellent soldier^), he was proclaimed emperor by the Danubian army, whereby the numerous Moorish detachments within the Dacian occupying force will have had the decisive say. This AemiHanus was a predecessor of the Moors Memor and Saturninus, one of whom rose under Gallienus, the other under Probus.
Even Aemilianus' opponent and successor Valerien could not escape the Moors. When he tried to avert the catastrophe in the east, which had begun under his predecessors with the first conquest of Antioch, by appearing in person, he had to deny himself the opportunity to the Illyrian core troops to the east. They were needed to repel the attacks on the Rhine and Danube. Only the Moorish guard was present on the Mesopotamian border, either because the emperor had found them or because he had brought them with him. A terrible plague was ravaging the Roman army at the time; it also affected the Moorish spearmen^). The loss of this most important force opened the way Shapur's advance.

The great age of the Moors dawned when the Oriental archers disappeared from the west and from the imperial army altogether. This disappearance coincided chronologically and causally with that of the Oriental rulers. Their successors, the emperors of Illyrian origin, were faced with the task of how remedy the lack of light cavalry and armor. Both were all the more as under Gallienus was a great increase in the number of mounted divisions and thus a change in the entire organization of the army.
It was the momentous act of this emperor that he combined the African troops with the Illyrian cavalry. Moors and Dalmatians appeared side by side from now on: they formed Gallienus' newly created cavalry reserve. The Dalmatians bear the name of a tribe that had put up resistance to the Romans. After their sub
^) Epit. de Caes, 31, 1.

- Zon. 12, 21 p. 590 Bonn; cf. H. Mattingly, Journ. Rom.

stud. 25, 57,

- Zosim. 1, 36,1; Petrus Patr. excerp. de legat. fr. 1 p. 3 De Boor.

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The inhabitants of Dalmatia had heavily recruited during the war; they had found their way into legions and guard formations, but had also formed their own auxiliaries on foot and on horseback. The new Dalmatian cavalry of GalHenus had presumably taken its name from them. It was certainly recruited from Illyrians, but that did not mean that the team was drawn exclusively from the Dalmatian tribal area. Apart from a few plains and valleys, between Krka and Narenta there is only mountainous forest and

Pastureland; they offer little scope for horse breeding. But in the lowlands of the Sava and Drava, especially in the Syrmian countryside, large herds of horses can still be found today. Syrmia, by its very nature, already belongs to

the lowlands beyond the Danube; Alfo; ld and Puszta have reached over the river, as it were, and made this part of the empire's territory their own.
It is a fertile that spreads out in the south of Fruschka Gora. The heavy soil bears nutritious crops in abundance. Flocks of horses, intermingled with long-horned cattle, populate the Blachfeld. The Sava glides slowly and lazily along its bed; the expanse stretches out on either side and an endless sky stretches across the landscape. Emperor Maximin felt at home here; originally the commander of a Pannonian squadron, he was a mighty warrior and horseman. As with him, the son of Alanin, there was with equestrian nomadism everywhere. The strength of the Dalmatian and Pannonian cavalry will have been due in no small part to such contact.

Nothing is known about the equipment of this troop; it can only be surmised. Like the origin of the , it points to the area of the equestrian nations.
The third cohort of the Dalmatians belonged to the garrison of Dacia^). As its epithet implied, it was partly mounted^).

- Coh. III Delmatarum mill. equit. civ. Roman, p.f.; cf. W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen 132 f. " ^ ^ ii-jwrn a i
- Most recently M. Durry, Les cohortes pretoriennes 83f.; W. Bradford-Welles,^rc/i. d^hist. du droit Orient. 1, 283.

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The location was Mehadia: it held this important point, which covered the return route to the Danube, until the

province by AureHan^). Then it disappeared from the Danube front: like the main part of the Dacian divisions, it will have been incorporated into the emperor's field army and marched with him against Palmyra. The Dalmatian cavalry was one of the core troops of the imperial expeditionary army^). Some of these cavalry units remained permanently in the East^), and them appears our division, now entirely a mounted force*).
The new Dalmatian cavalry corps that have appeared since GaUienus therefore seem to have not only taken their name from the older formations: these have been absorbed into them. The mounted detachments of the existing Dalmatian cohorts brought their armament with them when they joined the cavalry reserve. It consisted of short scale armor and a rectangular shield widened in the middle. The main weapon, however, was a lance the height of a man, which was used for thrusting^).
This thrusting lance was common to the heavy Iranian cavalry, but also to the Sarmatians and Alans on the Danube. Like the Germanic Quades^), the Roman-Illyrian cavalry on the Danube had also adopted the weapon. There was a separate squadron of contarii^ which, established by Trajan, was named after its armament with the thrusting lance {contus)"^). Such a troop counted as light cavalry®); one understands why the Dalmatians were unable to withstand the attack of the Palmyrene cataphracts in the battle of Emesa^).

- W.Wagner, a. 0.133.
- Zosim. 1, 52, 3; E. Ritterling, Festschr. Hirschfeld 346.
- E. Ritterling, op. cit. O. 345f.; below p. 180. not dignit. or. 7, 27.

5) R. Cagnat, Uarmee Romaine d'Afrique 301 f.; plate to p. 297, nos. 2-3.

") Above page 76. W. Wagner, op. cit. O. 30.

8) Arrian, tact. 4, 2f., where the Kovxocpo; poi are distinguished from the cataphracts as a; cppaKXOi. A special genus of the KOVToqpo; poi also fought with the large shield and were therefore called o; upeaqpo; poi (l.c. 4). They apparently corresponded to the Dalmatians, while the contarii were mere KOVToqpo; poi.
") Below p. 167. 165

The new Dalmatians of Gallienus stood, like the other mounted corps of this Jabrbxinderts, outside of the legion). The troops appeared everywhere where a decision was at stake: in Gallienus' campaign against Ingenuus, in Claudius' wars against the Goths and in Aurelian's campaign against Palmyra. Milan was the headquarters of the new cavalry corps and thus also of the Dalmatians2). When Aureolus fell to Postumus, he relied on the detachments there; he had coins struck on the bravery and unity of his horsemen. The Dalmatians always appear in the retinue of the emperor himself. Gallienus, the troop's sho; pfer, fell at the hands of a Dalmatian cavalry captain whom the emperor's immediate entourage had hired to kill him. UnderClaudius, who himself Illyrian was and to had been one of the conspirators, the importance of these horsemen clear. They were under Aurelian's, the emperor's, orders and did considerable damage to the Goths who were ravaging Upper Macedonia. The further course of Claudius' enterprise showed how little Roman foot soldiers could do without their cavalry. The cavalry and the foot army had become divided; the emperor was only able to oppose enemy with his infantry. They soon suffered a defeat, and only the timely appearance of the cavalry, who were on

remembered their comradely duty, were able to avert the consequences of the defeat.
Claudius had not been able to find a replacement the lost . He himself felt the lack painfully, and it became even more painful at the moment when he had to face the army of the Palmyrenes himself, whose strength lay alongside the heavily armored horsemen in their shoes. When it came to the battle between AureHan and Zabdas, the commander of Zenobia, at Emesa, the Romans had only the Moors at their disposal alongside the Dalmatians^).

- St. Paulovics, Archaeol. Hung. 20, 11; Atti del Congr. Intern, del diritto Rom. 1933, 1, 553; A. Alfo; ldi, Journ. Rom. stud. 1937, 259.
- On the following: A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 1927, 203f.; 1928, 201.
- While under Severus Alexander there was a Moorish troop on foot and on horseback (CIL VIII 20996) and the Osrhoenian troop existed separately (CIL VI 31836), the Moorish cavalry was named after the Moors and Osrhoenem after Gallienus (Dessau 9479); it thus continued the tribal tradition of the Orientals,

They had been chosen not only to replace the national armed forces of the East, but also to oppose them in decisive battles. The Africans ranked directly alongside the Illyrian Guard, thus repeating a connection that had already emerged half a century earlier. At that time, this guard had fought side by side with the Moors against the oriental legions that had raised Elagabal to the throne.
Although some of Aurelian's horsemen failed in the Battle of Emesa and he was otherwise unable to defend himself with the light

Syrian troopsthe new combination of Illyrian and African cavalry must have proved successful. Since then, both troops, united, ranked first among the garrisons of the provinces^). By distributing these foreign core troops, the aim was to create a counterweight against the divisions consisting of natives, on which Zenobia's power primarily based. Aurehan pursued the same policy with the two newly founded legions, which he moved to Syria Phoenice and the province of Arabia. They too were recruited from the Illyrian lands and were intended to chain the east more firmly to the western empires.
In addition, the emperor was intent on further strengthening the cavalry. Gallienus had, it was estimated, also increased the cavalry assigned to the legions. They were now separated from the foot troops and formed into separate units under the title of promoti^). Administratively, however, they were still assigned to the legions; it was only under Constantine that they were made independent.
who had left in the meantime. However, Zosimos 1,52,3 quite rightly speaks simply of the Moorish cavalry. This against A. v. Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des ro; m. Heeres 189f.

- E. RitterHng, Festschr. O. Hirschfeld 346f.; also A. Alfo; ldi,

25 years ro; m.germ. commiss. 12; St. Paulovics, Arch. Hungar. 20, 62. Saturninus, under AureHan dux limitis Orientalis (SHA., quadr. tyr. 7, 2) and sent as magister militum (Jord., Rom. 293 Momms.) to rebuild Antiocheia, was Maure (Zos. 1, 66, 1; Zon. 12, 29 p. 609 Bonn.). So the Moorish detachments were already on the eastern border at that time: they raised their compatriot"

- E. RitterHng, Festschr. Hirschfeld 348; an a;lter vexillatio equitum Illyricorum in W. Wagner, l.c. O. 51 f.

The frieze of the Arch of Constantine shows a final change. Here, archers are depicted carrying their arrows not in their co; chers, but behind their heads^). This custom is known from the descriptions of African , Moors and Aithiopes. They tied their small arrows by means of a hair biad; the feathered part lay on the head, the tips protruded outwards so that they stood out like rays. These Moorish bows (for only they can be meant) had therefore completely or partially taken the place of the Orientals. They fought in the ranks of the Rhine army, as their , the Moorish spearmen, had once done under Alexander

Severus and Maximin. And they now replaced the Palmyrene and Syrian divisions that had supported them at the time, including in the use of the bow.
5.
With the Syrian and Moorish , with the cataphracts and Dalmatians, a new evaluation of cavalry entered the Roman army. Their armor was originally as foreign to Roman nature as the bow and arrow. Certainly the leading had served on horseback since ancient times, but the heavily armed foot soldier was Rome's own weapon. Now the equestrian style to the empire and the army. Coming from central and northern Asia, this style had cast a spell over the Germanic tribes and had conquered China and Iran: Rome could no longer close the gates to it.

The strongest influence came from the Parthian and Sasanian empires, and this is hardly a coincidence. The influence of Iranian art could already be felt in the arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna or on the hunting sarcophagi of southern Asia Minor^). A similar transformation took place in the literature of the eastern half of the empire. The novel of the Syrian Jamblichos
1) H. P. L'Orange, Symbol. Osloens, 13, 105f.; H. P. L'Orange and A. v. Gerkan, Der spa; tantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens 45 f.
2) G. Rodenwaldt, Journ. Hell. stud. 53, 206f.; Studi e scoperte Germ. sulV arck e Varte del tardo impero 22.

marked a radical change^) insofar as the manifold fates of the lovers, which used to form the content of this genre, began to transform into a series of 'aventu; ren'. The Ramayanam or the epic of Firdusi, and indeed the transformation of ancient Iranian legends into chivalric) lend themselves to comparison, and it was not without reason that JambUchos referred to teachers from the East. Galerius had himself depicted on his triumphal arch in Salonika in a knightly duel with the Persian and thus took up the example of Iranian chivalry^); the Sasanian Ardeschir described his victory over the last Parthian king no differently^). When Gallienus challenged his opponent Postumus to a duel that was to decide the possession of the empire^), this can be seen as a realization of the deed. The sho; pfer of the cavalry chosen the most knightly form of combat. The attempt was imitated: Tenagino Probus was victorious as governor of Numidia over the Marmarid Aradio in a duel^).
If the Ottoman archers, the Moorish spearmen belonged to the imperial guard troops,

This was no different in the Sasanian army. The 's bodyguard there consisted of archers"^). Even the formation of the cavalry reserve was modeled on the Iranian East^).
When the Parthians had taken control of Mesopotamia, they took up residence there. But not in the Greek Seleukeia, which was left to its own devices and granted a high degree of independence^). The rich and opulent city with its deep harbor was located on the Tigris and was characterized by
^) Note from K. Kerenyi.
2) E. Herzfeld, Archaeol. history of Iran 64.

^) K. F. Kinch, L'arc de triomphe de Saloniquepl. 6; G.
Rodenwaldt, at the last named place 22.
E. Herzfeld, a. 0. 57; 78f. 5) Petr. patr. in Dio. ed. Boiss. III 743 nr. 165; L.
Wickert, RE. 13, 357;
A. Alfo; ldi, 25 years ro; m.-germ. comm. 33. ") SHA., V. Probi 9, 2; in addition
A. Stein, Ku; o 1936, 240.
See under p. 171 note 2. 8)A. Momigliano, Encyclop. hol. 29, 639; F. Altheim,
Welt als Geschichte
2 333 f.
")W.W.Tam, op. O. 30f.;42. 169

also connected to the Euphrates via the "Ko; nigskanal"^). It formed the natural transfer port for the that came from India or the Iranian northeast and were forwarded to the west^). In addition to the Greeks, a large Babylonian population lived here^). None of this originally Parthian in nature. They respected Greek culture or pretended to do so; they took from it what they could appropriate. On the other hand, they emphasized the free life of a gentleman on horseback,

Hunting and fighting. Consideration for the of Seleukeia, who did not want to be expected to quarter the warriors, provided a welcome excuse to settle outside.
Thus the Arsacids created their own residence from the suburb of Ctesiphon, which was located east of the former course of the Tigris. Originally it was a camp, and the Parthian city has retained traces of this until the latest times. Its circular layout is with Hatra, which also originated in Parthian times and based on a similar camp form. In Ctesiphon, the king and his entourage - knights and scribes, horses and packs of dogs - moved into the winter camp. Here they remained in a state of readiness and constant departure, as was the nomadic way. The endlessly stretching plain at the lower reaches of the Tigris provided a suitable terrain for the equestrian activities of the Parthian court.

Seleukeia and Ctesiphon: transition from Hellenistic metropolis to Parthian camp city reflects the changing times. The contrast between the two cities was certainly felt: on the Septimius Arch of the Forum, the emphasized their peculiarities^).
Septimius Severus, we , reached Seleukeia by sailing up the Royal Canal; he took the city, which had already been badly battered under Lucius Verus, without resistance after the inhabitants had abandoned it. Then it was on to the conquest of

- Streck, RE. 2 A, 1154f.; W. W. Tarn, op. O. 60f.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 54; 61 f.
- W. W. Tarn, a. 0.61; 352.

*) I owe the interpretation of Ctesiphon to F. W. Deichmann; cf. P. W. To-
wnsend, Am, Journ, Arch. 1938, 514.

Ctesiphon. The soldiers devastated the surrounding land, burned down the country houses and took the city by storm. The Parthian king barely managed to escape with a few horsemen^).
Seleukeia can be seen at the top of the left-hand section of the north-west side of the arch, known by the Tigris river and its deity. She surrenders to the emperor without resistance, allowing him and his soldiers to enter. It is an extensive and imposing city: high and a round-arched gate break through the polygonal ring of walls; gabled houses and other towers surround the streets.
On the other side of the Tigris (in the picture: below it) is Ktesiphon. The river flows from here to the edge of the city. The ring of walls is not polygonal, but shows the circular layout of the real city. The towers of the walls and the houses inside are less magnificent. But the defenses are far more vigorous. Towards the left, a (supervised) work has been advanced against the besiegers, and at the bottom right a house or another fortification outside the city is being built. But doom is already approaching: the king and his retinue leave the city; the cavalry flee in haste to the right and left.
There the well-built city, here the circular camp fortress with defensive and equestrian inmates - that is the difference. Ctesiphon also had something of this camp city in Sasanian times. The court with the guards^) continued to reside here, but the palace and the residences of the great men were now moved outside the walls. Remnants of a stately life have been preserved everywhere; depictions of

Hunting animals, horses and riders predominate on the stucco friezes of the Ha; user^).

- Herod. 3, 9, 11; Dio 75, 9, 2; Amm. Marc. 24, 6, 1; cf. C.

Debevoise, A political history of Parthia 260.

- Agmen regium Amm. Marc. 19, 5, 5; one need only recall the Macedonian example, mediated by the Parthians.
- Die Ausgrabimgen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition 1931/32 (Staatl. Museen in Berlin; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) 16f. (E. Ku; hnel) and fig. 17 f., especially 26- 27; J. H. Schmidt, Syria 1934, If.

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Upstream on the Tigris lies an early Islamic foundation of a similar kind: Samarra. Harun al-Rashid's successors had also left the caliph's city of Baghdad and built a new residence further up the river, which had the character of a camp. U@ everything was created here overnight, only to be abandoned again after a few decades; a ruby enclosure extending over 30 cu; ometres is the only remnant of this creation of a dynastic will.
The contacts with the Rome of the late third century are becoming more and more apparent. The newly created equestrian army was, as it were, the emperor's personal retinue. The respective leader was the most powerful man next to him and the successor usually emerged from the officer corps of the troops. This equestrian army was not based in Rome, but in the imperial headquarters near the endangered northern border: in Mau; and. They were

joined other , residences and imperial headquarters: Trier, Sirmium and Nicomedia.

The imperial camp city of VoUends is in the palace complex of Spalato. Like Ctesiphon and Samarra, it was also built outside the nearest metropolis, Salona. The same desire to separate from the city wasexpressed here as there. And like Samarra, Spalato was also built in a very short space of time. Such constructions of an unwavering rulership do not tend to progress slowly, in slow, laying of layer upon layer. Especially a man who had risen from the bottom, such as Diocletian, may have felt the need to finish his work quickly, to leave it behind as a finished monument to his own greatness. The work on the palace was therefore awarded simultaneously to various work groups by way of liturgy. As a result, the was uneven; the works could not be coordinated with each other. One misses the closed 'Stu; ': what is effective is the ruler's will embossed in stone.

Quickly up, Spalato - also similar to Samarra in this respect. - quickly abandoned again (perhaps after the death of its). After the Avar invasion of 614, the inhabitants of

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The inhabitants of Salona took refuge in the ruins of the nearby imperial palace^). Spalato's contacts with the Iranian world complete the surviving carvings. They show the Iranian type of the heavy warhorse, depicted in the forms and the of the East.

Everywhere, it seems, the great innovations of the third century can be traced back to foreign models. There was undoubtedly an inspiration coming from there. But the example of Spalato shows that foreign adoption and Roman form not mutually exclusive.

In the details, the imperial complex deliberately harks back to the Roman camp. The axial cross of cardo and decumanus, the clear plan, the arrangement of the living quarters for officials and guards - everything takes on that classical form. On a peninsula, in the middle of three , which are set forward as shield guards against the sea and the mainland, the quadrangle of this palace is broad and clearly laid out.

Just as the whole was modeled on the camp, Diocletian's mausoleum was modeled on the Pantheon. The magnificent light opening - the "eye of the stoic world god", as it has been called - may also remain inimitable: the alternation of round and square niches spanned by barrel vaults, the projecting and cranked , the small pilasters of the upper floor recur in the later building. The link to the works of the Romanesque past is also unmistakable here.

The assessment of the new army echo; pfung will to follow a similar path. The decisive importance of GaUienus' newly created cavalry reserve was not based on what it took over. It lay neither in the replacement of older formations nor in the emergence of the mounted weapon as such. It did not lie in tactics at all, but in politics, i.e. in ro; ming.

After Valerian's catastrophe, the east slowly began to slip away from the central government. Palmyra went from being a client state to a subordinate against the Sasanids, then to a lord^) E. Dyggve in Recherches a; Salone 1, 27.

Seer the parts of the empire. The Palmyrene and Syrian archers had been eliminated and

fought under local flags. As on the Euphrates, the troops on the Danube border also began to detach themselves from the whole and adopt a regional Illyrian stance.

Such aspirations had already emerged early on. When Alexander Severus assembled his army against the first Sasanians, the Illyrian legions formed its core. On the Mesopotamian theater of war they fought of their fame. However, they suffered heavy losses and the unfamiliar climate claimed its victims. An entire section of the army succumbed to the Iranian , who surrounded them on the open plain and shot from afar. For a long time the legiona; re had tried to defend themselves from the bullets under a wall of shields; then they perished to the last man.

The mood of the Illyrians was ; the emperor and his indecision were primarily blamed for the defeat. When the news came that the Germanic neighbor had the Danube border, they demanded to be returned to their homeland. They believed that the Germanic danger was greater than anything threatened by the Persians; they to the of their country, to their relatives murdered by the enemy. The arrest with their native camps and military districts made the Illyrian legions feel that their own interests were more important than the requirements of a unified imperial policy.

Alexander Severus fell, a victim of the fury of his army; Pannonian recruits struck him dead. Decius was the first Illyrian to ascend the throne; the Danubian legions soon raised their own candidate against his successor. Aemilianus may have been of non-Illyrian origin, but the Libyan had

his successes on the Danube and his manly refusal of the god's tribute won the hearts of his Moorish soldiers. Against Ga]lienus, too, two Illyrian counter-emperors were set up one after the other on the Danube: Ingenuus and Regalianus; behind the latter stood above all the upper

Pannonia and the garrison of Silistria^). The antagonism between the central power and the frontier army, the central power and the Illyrian people, continued after both forces had been defeated by Gallienus' generalship. Among the troops of the oriental opposing emperors, it was the Pannonians who stuck to the banner of Gallienus' enemy until the very end^).

The dangers of regionaHsm were also evident outside Illyria. When Valerian was raised by the Upper Germanic-Ra; tian troops, they included men from a Numidian legion disbanded by Gordianus III. They had been won over by promising them the restoration of their troop unit and a return to their African homeland. After his accession to the throne, Valerian kept his promise and withdrew the Upper German legion, which had replaced the disbanded legion in Numidia either completely or with a mobile detachment^). Both units were obviously badly affected by the separation from their former garrison and thus

from their recruiting district. Maintaining this separation meant creating a permanent source of unrest.

During this time, the third of the great frontier armies began to go its own way. Valerian owed his proclamation as emperor primarily to the Germanic and Celtic troops on the other side of the Alps. When he returned to

Italy to win the throne, AemiHanus confronted him at the head of the Danube legions. For the first time, Illyrian and Germanic legions faced each other in the struggle supremacy. It did not come to a battle, as Aemilianus' own men gave him up and condemned him to death. However, after Valerian's catastrophe in the east, the Rhine army also refrained from defeating his son

- The coins of the Regalian and Dryantilla at Mattingly-Sydenham, Imp, Rom. Coin. 5, 286f.; cf. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 1929, 256f. That Regaliamis rose in Moesia, not in Pannonia, was assumed by B. Saria, Klio 1930, 353f. on the basis of a newly found inscription from Ochrida.
- Zonar. 12, 24 p. 599 Bonn.
- Ritterling, RE. 12,1339; H. Mattingly, Journ, Rom. stud. 1935, 55; R. Gagnat, Uarmee rom.^ 222 f.

to continue to Gallienus. No sooner had he hurried to the Danube after the first Germanic battles on the Rhine than it fell to Postumus. Gallienus' son and deputy was handed over to the new ruler when the fortress of was handed over to him.

The Gallic empire, which began with Postumus, was not initially conceived as the elevation of a particular ethnic area . These emperors aspired to Roman rulership and wanted to be nothing other than Romans. Postumus had his own senate and his own consuls. He created a pra; torian guard like the one; Victorinus, once on Gallienus' side, was its commander^). The Pyrenean peninsula was part of Postumus' empire; he even reached into Italy by Aureolus' uprising against Gallienus. The commander of the cavalry stationed around Milan practiced

at that time in Postumus' name^). When Victorinus came to the throne, he placed the image of the eternal Roma on his coins. Against Claudius' brother and successor, against the legions supporting him, he sought to bring together all the others, including the eastern , in order to restore the unity of the empire^).

However, the weight of the geographic and folk relations outweighed the intentions of the rulers. It had an even greater impact when, after Postumus' death, the empire limited to Gaul and Britain. This meant that the lands with the Celtic influence within the empire were united, and this union was bound to have an effect.

The Celtic La Tenestil had once conquered a world; it spread as far as Siebenbu; rgen and Su; russia. Then its reign was over: ro; mish forms seemed to have covered everything. But under the cover he had continued to lead a

tenacious life^). What he seized from other people's property, he transformed into

- CIL 13, 3697; Ritterling, RE. 12, 1343.
- A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numismat. 1927, 202 f.
- H. Mattingly, Transact. Int. numism. Congr. 1936, 214f.

^) CoUingwood-Myres, Roman Britain 94f. Less in Rhenish sculpture: L. Hahl, Zur Stilentwickl. der provinzialro; m. Plastik in Germanien u. Gallien (Heidelb. Diss. 1937) 61 f.

secretly his mind. He shaped the moderate curves of the antique ornament into a bulbous, swelling form and covered the surfaces with finely formed but lavishly proliferating ornamentation. This sense form, initially concealed, became more prominent towards the end of the second century. In Rhenish ceramics appear alongside the imported Italian

Forms the eiaheimische. The Britannic metalwork shows the emergence of an ornamental art that takes up motifs from La Tene art^). The ancient tectonics were again replaced by the symbol, the sculpture by the abstract line. Slowly the art of Spa; tantique began to move into the Middle Ages^).

Old and half-forgotten forms of Celtic folklore also came to light. A dark story^) of a woman, Victoria or Vitruvia, by whose will the rulers of the Gallic empire were removed or installed. Her name resembles that of the Britannic queen Boudicca, which likewise means nothing other than "victor" or "victory "*). Other Celtic female figures unintentionally come to mind: Cartisvaldua, who had her first husband murdered by a squire and raised him to the rank of king, or the legendary circle that has entwined itself around the queen Medb . . . The last of these rulers created by Victoria bore a name of genuine Celtic , Esuvius Tetricus, and came from ancient Aquitanian family. At his triumph, Aurelian had him in Gallic costume: the restorer of imperial unity also regarded his victory a victory over the Celtic nation.

GaUienus, against whom the first movements of a regional entity were directed, tried a system of alternating auxiliaries. When he against Ingenuus, he was followed by the mobile divisions of the Rhenish and Britannic armies; the two Dacian legions were also deployed against the insurgents.

^) A. V. Jenny, Celtic Metalwork 30 f.

- A. Schober, Oesterr. Jabresb. 26, 9f.; 47f.

- Stein, RE. 6, 697f.; H. D. M. Parker, a. 0.188; comparison withZenobia: SHA" trig. tyr. 30, 23 and A. AJfo; ldi, Zeitscbr. f. Numism. 38, 164; A. Holder, Altkelt. Spracbscb. 1, 497 f.

up to it. After the defeat of the pra; tender, he took the marching detachments or, to put it bluntly, the dexillations of the Danube army with him; with this enlarged force, he defeated the Alamanni, who had ventured as far as Milan. The army that Aujeolus brought him to fight the Gallic counter-emperors was

also made up of such expeditions. Its composition was variable, as the emperor had to reckon with constant and outrages. But the fact that this army remained together at all, that it was permanently at the emperor's disposal, was of decisive importance.

For from this system of changing institutions, a new order began to develop. This army of vexillations meant a support for the central power, a weapon against the border regions and the local governments based on them. GaUienus recognized the scope of the this offered. At the pompa of his decennial celebration, he the field insignia of all the formations that had proven themselves in his service; he had his own coins struck on the legions and vexillations that had remained loyal to him^). It can be seen from these pra; gims that the armies on the Rhine and Danube were primarily represented; on the other hand, not only the legions of the east were missing, but also the Britannic ones, which fell away from him shortly after the defeat of RegaHanus.

In contrast to the frontier armies, these vexillations were not tied to a fixed base camp; they were located

permanently in the emperor's retinue. Originating from Germanic or Illyrian troops, they were indeed united by nationality, but together they formed an army that had no united Germanic or Celtic-Germanic practice. Both nations came together in a single framework; the Illyrian-tribal principle on which an imperial army had to be ,

^) Anders L. Laffranclii, Transactions Internat. Numism. Congr. 1936, 203f., who wants to see in the series of legions the bustard parts that elevated Valerianus to emperor in 253. But strictly speaking, this only happened on the part of those on the Rhine and the upper Danube (Ra; tia and Noricum; cf. Zosim 1, 28, 3; Aur. Vict., Caes, 32, 1; Zon. 12, 22; Eutrop.9, 7; Oros.7,22,1); above all, Legio III Augusta is missing in the series (this against L. LaffrancM, l.c. 208 above).

if it wanted to remain true to its nature, returned to its rights. And the longer the distance between the vexillations and their tribal troops lasted, the more it contributed to the erosion and overcoming of tribal differences.

The creation of a separate equestrian corps of the Moors and Dalmatians, detached from the legionary cavalry, went in the same direction. This corps played a decisive role in the defeat of Ingenuus, one of the forerunners of Illyrian regionaHsm. The armies clashed at Mursa, not far from the confluence of the Drava and Danube rivers, in the plain south of the marshy riverbanks, which is still filled with grazing herds of horses today. At the head of GaUienus' cavalry was Aureolus; once a shepherd boy in the Siebenbu; rgian country, experienced in handling horses from early on, he had become the

He was appointed leader of the newly created force. At that time, the Mauxians won the victory over the feared legions of Pannonia and Moesia; Ingenuus himself was slain by his bodyguards while fleeing.

This cavalry was also composed of different nations, Africans and Illyrians; they too embodied the supra-tribal principle in contrast to the tribal border

armies. The idea of empire, once bound to the supremacy of Roman-Italian blood, then into the background by the rise of the Illyrians and Orientals, celebrated its renewal here too.

GaUienus himself was not to restore the unity of the empire. But his successors: Claudius, AureUan and Probus forged the loosened bonds back together with mighty blows in barely a decade and a half. Their instrument was not the border armies, but the imperial army, the Sho; pfimg of GaUienus; they led this imperial army, from which they themselves had grown, to victory. The Goths in the Balkans, the Germanic tribes on the Rhine and Neckar succumbed their blows; the empire of Zenobia and the lands of the Gaulish empire were to the empire.

The character of this army, despite its IUyrian emperors, was still ancestral; it reflected the all-encompassing unity of the

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Empire again. Among the troops that Aurelian led against Palmyra appear: the cavalry corps of the Dalmatians and the Moors, the vexillations of all the legions that stood along the Danube - Illyrians, in other words, but also men of Celtic origin.

tribe from Ra; tia and Noricum; plus the marching formations of the legions of the East. The reorganization of the provinces was also carried along these lines. Aurelian sought to chain the newly acquired territories to the empire with garrisons taken from the Moors and Dalmatians, foreign core troops. Two newly created Illyrian legions stationed in the same areas served the same purpose. The procedure meant that the principle of regional recruitment was broken, at least in the east. The return of the tribal principle was now also attempted in the border troops.

6.

The supra-tribal character of the imperial army did not mean it consisted of a random mixture of peoples and races. This army was recruited from the most warlike tribes of the empire. What is more, apart from the Moors, it was recruited from the northern tribes of the the empire. Illyrians and Thracians from the Danube, Celts and a few Germanic tribes from there and the Rhine formed the core. These held and reunited the empire when it threatened to disintegrate.

The few northern tribes of the empire were related to the Italics. Their language, like the Italic language, belonged to the western group of the Indo-European tribe. Their origins were also the same termsblood, although in both cases there may have been admixture with pre-Indo-Germanic strata. When the unspent elements of this prehistoric reserve were combined with the diminished power of Italy and merged into a new whole, this final renewal of the empire could to a new creation from its origins.

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But such a process of renewal would have a calm development. In reality, the empire of the third century was threatened on all sides by external enemies and internally divided by the struggles of the proponents. The wars followed one another without interruption: their constant demands consumed precisely the strongest and most promising elements of the . The Danube countries, the heart and source of strength of the army a whole century, had to bleed themselves dry. The question of what do then had to arise. There was only one way out: the peoples on the other side of the border were called upon as replacements. This step was not only unavoidable: in one sense it was also logical. For the barbarians from outside the empire possessed to an even greater extent what the people below the empire had elevated to their rank. Intact strength and unused reserves of manpower, brave men, who with who were wholeheartedly devoted to the craft of war seemed to be in here. Once again, attention turned to the northern : the Germanic tribes a dominant position from the outset.

It was a step of great significance. Until then, the 'barbarians' outside the border had been opposed by those from within the empire: now they began to fight the enemy from outside the empire with troops from outside the empire. However, as their numbers within the imperial army increased, a conflict was bound to break . The troops recruited from outside of the empire had to be able to fight the previous core of the army, which consisted of subjects - in other words, the Germanic tribes had to try to wrest their position from the Illyrians and neighboring tribes.

The beginnings of this development go to the years of the Emperor Marcus . The heavy losses of the

The Marcomannic wars, the demands made by their duration and the extensive theater of war, as well as the of the plague, had made it increasingly difficult to raise an army. In these emergencies, they reached beyond the borders of the empire.

In 170, the Quads, who had submitted, provided auxiliary troops; however, they did not dare to attack them on the Danube River.

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place. The Lakringians were already on the Roman side at that time; they defeated the Asdians, who were ravaging the province of Dacia, and thereby induced them to also become affiliated to Rome. As they proved to be reliable, they received subsidies and land grants.

A similar behavior emerges in the peace . In 175, the Jazygians had to provide eight thousand cavalrymen for the Roman army. Such conditions may also have been imposed on other states. In the treaty with which he ended the campaign, Commodus demanded 13,000 recruits from the Quads and a somewhat smaller number from the Marcomanni; return, he ordered them to provide the early manpower.

During Marcus' lifetime, this procedure was not yet a decisive step. It was his intention to the state to the empire. The situation was different for Commodus. He abandoned the plan to create two new provinces north of the Danube.

Consequently, he also renounced the permanent supply of recruits. But now even a single deployment had to mean something new, and as such it left its mark.

Of the eight thousand Jazygian horsemen, the had been sent to Britain, where they remained as a separate division. Called the 'Wedge' after their native formation, they are still to be found in the fourth century^). At the same time as the nomadic troops, a nomadic emblem its way into Rome: the dragon banner^).

Its origins lay with the equestrian peoples of Central and North Asia. From there it to China and Iran, but also to the West. The reHefs of the Trajanssa;show the da

- Dio 71, 16, 2; CIL. 7, 218 and E. Hu; bner's remarks p. 58; iVoj. dignit., occ, 40, 54 and O. Seeck's notes in the apparatus. On the cunei see A. Alfo; ldi, Der Untergang der Ro; merberrscb. in Pannonien 1, 87 f.
- On the following: F. Sarre, Klio 3, 359; E. Komemann, Einltg. i. d. Altertumswiss. III 2, 143; dracones v. Gallieni 8, 6 and A. v. Domaszewski, Rhein. Mus. 57 513f.; A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas z. Kunst- und Kulturgesch. Mittelasiens 18; J. Dobias, Transact. Intern, Numism, Congr. 1936, 169f. The dragon faine in the hand of the Thracian equestrian saint at V. Pa; rvan, Getica pl. XVII1; cf. 337; 453; 520f.; 641; 783f.; 803.

The Sarmatian horsemen fenced under this emblem, and the Germanic tribes were no strangers to it either. Both will have received it from the Sarmatian tribes of the Danube regions.

The dragon flag also came from there to the Empire. An officer of Emperor Marcus, who had himself commanded in Dacia and on the Danube on several occasions, had his soldiers depicted with it^). Then it became common: dragon flags were carried in the triumphal procession that was organized on the occasion of Gallienus' ten-year reign^). They

appear on the triumphal arches of Galerius and Constantine; Julian was to win his victory over the Alamanni under the same sign. -

A similar process to that on the Danube front took place in Britain. Its and the troops recruited from it were considered brave and courageous; in this and in their insubordination they were in no way inferior to the Illyrians. Under Commodus' reign there had been worrying signs; it was a sign of their tribal nature when the emperor, as a Roman Hercules, equated himself with the Celtic chief god of the country^). When Clodius Albinus, by the Britannic army, reached for the crown, Septimius knew that he had the most formidable opponent in him. For a while he tolerated him next to him; when it came to a decision, the Britons initially gained the upper hand in the battle. They threw the part of the army opposing them. Septimius, who commanded it, fell off his horse in the general confusion, slipped his cloak off his shoulder and drew his sword to stop the enemy. The soldiers of Albinus were already singing the victory song when fresh troops arrived on the battlefield and turned the fate of the day around.

Britons, inhabitants of central Britain, had been transplanted en masse to Germania, perhaps also to Dacia^), around the middle of the second century. Teams from

- A work by H. Fuhrmann on the sarcophagus of A. Jidius Pompilius (Hohl, RE. 10, 779f.) is to be expected. Cf. for the time being Rom. Mitt. 1937, 262 note 2.
- V. Gu; ll. 8, 6; also A. v. Domaszewski, Rhein. Mus. 57, 513f.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Joum. Rom. stud, 13, 99; H. D. M. Parker, a.

O. 36. *) W. Wagner, Die Dislokation des Auxiliarformationen 203 f.
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These forced settlers, dug out and formed into their own divisions, stood in the Odenwald xmd on the Neckar. Their work was the extension of the Limes line between Mu; mling and Elz. The smooth and regular base of the ashlar work and the ornamentation of their stone carvings reveal their Britannic origins^). Here, as in the Britannic arts and crafts , Celtic formal feeling emerged under the cloak of Roman ornamentation.

Such a transplantation of Britons to the Germanic limes also took place in the third century^). However, the newly formed corps did not originate from the imperial territory, but from the areas of the island. After Septimus Severus' last campaigns and the final conquest of Scotland by his sons, part of the population had been carried away. Here, too, the army began to be with non-imperial strength.

United with the free Britons, a force of

'Deditizians'. This name was used in constitutional law to designate the ayghies of a people within or outside the borders of the empire who had surrendered to mercy and disgrace and whose community had fallen into dissolution. Slaves whose manumission had taken place under aggravating due to bad behavior could also be admitted to the status of deditizer. It was the lowest rank that a perso; nal freeman could occupy; he was the only one from civil rights by the decree of the CaracaUa. Deditizers now appeared

in the army, and the association with a barbarian unit began to take the honorary glory out of the name.

This first takeover of non-imperial states on the British and Danube fronts is characterized as a manifestation of the U@ transition. In both cases, there were well-founded hopes of incorporating the territories in question into the empire. It was only the conquest plans were abandoned that the territories in the occupied

- F. Brexel, Germania 6, 31 f.; E. Birley, ibid. 20, 24f.
- Ephem. epigr. 7,1077; Hu; bner, RE. 3,1350; Th. Mommsen,

Collect. Schrift. 6, 166f.; ORL. 21, 13; Collingwood-Myres, a.

O. 160.
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Abb. 45. Taq-i-Kisra, Südansicht. Ktesiphon (S. 171).

Abb. 46. Spätrömische Westmauer von außen. Histria (S. 196).

Abb. 47. Spätrömische Westmauer. Histria (S. 196).

area excavated crews Foreigners;
originally; ngHch may from they themselves from the

The divisions recruited from among the imperial tribes did not differ in principle. It was to Caracalla to carry the decisive A@ change.
The emperor formed a new force from the border of the Danube and Rhine regions, which he named
"Lo; wen" augury. They served to protect the imperial person. However, in contrast to the Germanic bodyguards of the older period, they were not taken from the auxiliaries, but from foreign that were not subject to the empire; the armies were brought together through recruitment, the forced recruitment of prisoners of war and the simple purchase of Germanic tribes from the right bank of the Rhine, from Goths and Carpathians, and probably also from

Sarmatians. They were regarded as a regular division of the army; these "Lo; wen" were able to join the centurionate, which was perceived as a innovation. Nor did the troop cease to exist with the death of its leader; in Diocletian's time it reappeared as the bodyguard of Caesar Galerius^).

Maximin also made use of the Germanic tribes. When he marched against Italy, he took Germanic horsemen with him. He had brought them with him from his Rhine campaign, either as prisoners whom he had enlisted or as mercenaries who followed him voluntarily. Their blind bravery was used to open the battle, for all dangerous undertakings. The emperor, who himself had Germanic blood flowing in his veins, was least likely to hesitate the Nordic forces against the cities and plains of Italy.

When the Senate raised an army against Maximin, it too had to resort to the Germanic tribes. One of the senate emperors, Pupienus, had once been commander on the Rhine and had successfully fought against the local tribes.

fought. They remembered his deeds well, and so they rushed to his aid when he gathered his forces around Ravenna. After his opponent's death, the Germanic bodyguard, whose numbers could not have been small, marched to Rome with the two emperors. Here they had a 1) A. Alfo; ldi, Germania 19, 324f.

The Germanic army was assigned a new role: it was to act as a counterweight to the defiant guard of the capital. Germanic tribes and Lyrians each other for the first time.

These Illyrian pra; torians formed a foreign in Rome. It was not only the emperors, Elagabal and Alexander Severus, who from their insubordination: the troops lived in constant strife with the Senate and the capital. When Maximin was overthrown, an open battle broke out and the crowd laid siege to the Pra; torian camp. They stormed the camp with weapons they had made themselves, sent the gladiators against the haters and tried to force them to their knees by cutting off the water supply. The guards did not allow themselves to be intimidated and treated like with like. After a murderous street fight, during which the attackers were pelted with dead bodies and roof tiles, the wooden quarters of the old town went up in flames. A large number of its inhabitants in the flames; those who survived were hit by the huge loss of their possessions.

The Germanic bodyguard of Pupienus was a serious challenge to the position that the Pra; torians claimed for themselves. Now they were no longer up against the uneducated population of the city: for the first time they were a force that equal or superior to their own. A coincidence prevented a clash between

both came to open warfare. Balbinus' untimely jealousy against Pupienus thwarted the efforts of their most loyal followers and brought about the downfall of both emperors. For the sake of two dead, however, the Teutons did not intend to fight and from whence they had come. -

From the second half of the century onwards, the proportion of Germanic power increased considerably. It was no longer limited to individual troop units, but penetrated everywhere and in a broad stream. Above all, Postumus' Gallic empire relied on Fra; nkish auxiliaries who rushed towards him across the Rhine. On the coins of one of his successors appears the image of Germania, designated as such for the first time^). But also 1) A. Aifo; ldi, Germania 21, 95f.; E. Kru; ger, ibid. 22, lOOf.

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Gallienus did not spurn Alamannic and Marcomannic help. And to the extent that the vexillations of the imperial army detached from their tribal troops, it was obvious to abandon recruitment from the estates and fall back on other substitutes, primarily the Germanic tribes from outside the empire.

Claudius settled the Germanic tribes he had defeated, but he also included them among his own troops. Their numbers could not yet have been large, but they grew steadily and therein lay the danger; soon it was no longer possible to escape the Teutons. Aurehan incorporated 2,000 Germanic horsemen into his army, some of whom followed him voluntarily and some of whom were forcibly conscripted. After his victory on the Ticinus, he formed a special troop on foot and on horseback from the prisoners^). Goths were also recruited for the emperor's planned Persian campaign and brought to the east of the empire. Probus added a further 16,000 Goths to the army.

The Germanic tribes from outside the empire were mostly incorporated into the imperial army. U@ beyond strengthening the fighting power they were suitable for underlining its supra-regional character. However, the downsides of the innovation were already beginning to show. After Aurelian's death, the recruited Goths scattered across Asia Minor and had to be driven into pairs by Tacitus' garde pra; fects^) Florianus into pairs. Probus therefore decided on a radical measure: he distributed the newly arrived Gothic troops fifty and sixty to the individual auxiliaries^). For, he said, it should be , but it should not be seen that Rome was supported by a foreign force ... In fact, the Germanic tribes sent to Britain remained loyal to the emperor when the governor there rebelled against him.

The the Germanic component in the army became, the more it had to come down to a decision between it and the up to

- E. Ritterling, Festschr. Hirschfeld 347; Scho; nfeld, RE. 10, 1348; A. Schenk V. Stauffenberg, a. 0. 79 note 16.
- On the question cf. Hohl, Klio 11, 310f.; A. Aifo; ldi, Journ. Rom. stud. 1937, 257.
- Thus M. Bang, Die Germ, in ro; m. Service 1, 62. 187

former masters, the Illyrians. Claudius, Aurelian and Probus had prepared the way for the future enemy by accepting Germanic tribes into their ranks. Probus at least recognized the coming dangers, but it was already too late. Another Illyrian, Constantine, the Germanic tribes to success.

The genius of Illyricum had been invoked on the coins of Decius, and Illyricum's 'bravery' had been recognized among

Aurelian and Galerius won the victories in the East. A panegyrist could place Pannonia alongside the ancient glory of Italy^). The fateful battle at the Milvian Bridge also brought about a turnaround. The Gallic-Germanic army of Constantia gained the upper hand; it destroyed the core force of the enemy in the U; lyrian Guard, and at the same time its own enemy from the times of Maximus and Balbinus. The virtus Illyrici was replaced on the Mu; Qzen by the virtus exercitus Gallicani.

The victorious Rhine army already wore Germanic costume. On the frieze of the Arch of Constantine, it appears in a costume whose details recur in the Gallo-Germanic border region. One of the Duxchgang reliefs shows a sign of Germanic origin 2). A new world was beginning.

The invasion of the Germanic tribes into the higher regions had already begun. Gallienus, who did not spurn Germanic help and even took a Marcomannic concubine, was the first to do so. The Herulian Naulobatus had voluntarily sided with the emperor in his final years and had received the consular insignia in return^). Another Herulian, Andonnoballus, who also joined the Romans, appeared in Claudius' entourage^). Pompeianus, surnamed Francus^, who distinguished himself in Aurelian's battles against Zenobia, can only have been a German^). The Briton Bonosus, who as commander of the Rhine fleet opposed Probus

- MameTt., paneg. maxim. Aug. 2, 2 p. 264 Bahr.
- A. Alfo; ldi, Germania 1935, 324f.; Verf., Klio 1938, 51f.

ParaUels on the costume, which originate from the Rhine border, in
H. P. L'Orange imd A. v. Gerkan, a. 0. 42 note 1 - 2.

- SynkeU. p. 717 Bonn.

Petr. patr. in Dio, ed. Bois3. III 745 nr. 171; Boissevain's note on this. 5) Against L. Schmidt, Gesch. d. dt. Sta; mme II 2, 439 note 4.

was married to a Gothic woman^). And that a man with Germanic blood in his veins had already sat on Rome's imperial throne before that in Maximin will become clear^).

In addition to the north, the east finally made its presence felt. In Aurelian's last battles, oriental archers appeared on the Roman side for the first time. Admittedly, they were not all Syrians or members of eastern coastal states. The 600 archery troops that the emperor ordered to be garrisoned in conquered Palmyra were heavily recruited from areas that had just been hostile to the central government. Persian archers are mentioned in AureHan's entourage*). Could they have been identical to that troop? Were they the predecessors of the Persian Clibanarii who part of the field army^) in the fourth century? These Clibanarii also wielded the bow. Since the Sasanians sent their auxiliary troops to Zenobia^), the Persians could only have been AureHan's U@ overlords or so; ldner. A similar corps of Parthians had already been held by Alexander Severus; this also did not disappear from the Roman army").

7.

Hadrian can be regarded as the father of the frontier defense system with which Rome entered the era of the soldier emperors. Renouncing Trajan's conquests in the east, he returned to Augustus' three-stream frontier. Where this system was exceptionally transgressed, a fortified limes surrounded the territory of the empire; the non-Roman troops in particular were posted on this limes.

- SHA., quadr. tyr. 15, 4.
- Remaining uncertain: Hariomundus, Haidagates, Hildomundus, Carioviscus SHA., V. AuT. 11, 5; cf. A. v. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen bei den SHA. 136f.
- SHA, V. Aur. 31, 2. Already under Philippus Arabs there were mounted as garrison in Palmyra. It was the cohors I Flavia Chalcidenorum,cf. H. Seyrig,Syr£al933, 153f.; 166f. A. v. Domaszewski's objection to the message of Aureliansvita (Die Personennamen bei den SHA. 154) is not convincing.

OZosim. 1, 54, 2f.

^) Not. dignit. or. 6, 32.

") SHA., V. Aurel. 28, 2.

') Herod. 6, 7, 8; 7, 2,1; Not. dignit., occ. 6, 25; 68; 7,186; 6, 30; 73; 7,192.

armed bodies of troops. Closed detachments followed further back, held together in large stone camps, up to the legionary camps that formed the .
This order was less a conscious creation than the systematization of a condition that had developed. The frontier coincided with the line on which the army of Rome had halted in its advance. As the advance solidified, so did the forms in which the Roman army had carried it out. The earthen behind which this army had entrenched itself during its shorter or longer advance had stone structures, the tents had become barracks or a camp village. The advanced line of posts had also been reinforced. Wall and ditch with palisade fence, wooden and then stone formed a closed line.

In order to the demands of border control, the formations moved towards the border. Hatchlessness was the top priority. Under Domitian had stilla low staggering of the Under Trajan, the large camps in the hinterland were cleared and their garrisons distributed closer to the limes. Hadrian endHch Hess to the place of the auxiliary detachments irregula; re detachments in native armament, the numeri. They were distributed among the smaller fortifications of the front line. The formation had become firmer and at the same time denser. But even now they had not yet moved on to . These limits were far removed from a fortified border defense. What had solidified could set in motion again at any time. The legions were able to move their stone camps not only to only as permanent stay, but as a starting point for a new offensive. The

legions ahead could the chain of posts further into hostile land advanced be advanced. Such an advance was su; dlich der Mainlinie imd an der britannischen Grenze erfolgt; als eine neue befestigte Postenstellimg legt sich hier der Wall des Antoninus Pius dem des Hadrian vor.
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The system presupposed that the superiority of weapons on the other side of the border was recognized. That, apart from occasional punitive ventures, border traffic limited to peaceful exchange. When the marginal began to move again and against the borders with a previously unknown force, the military borders themselves in a situation that they were unable to cope with. The stiffened offensive position was forced to serve as a defense.

The previous border system performed its new task poorly. The line of posts with its passages, towers and guardhouses was just as suitable for controlling border traffic as it was unsuitable as a defensive position. The forts fortified barracks, but not fortresses in the true sense of the word; they were not designed to withstand a prolonged siege. However, once the borders had been breached, it took an effort to close the gap again. Section reserves were usually not sufficient. Troops had to be taken from other places, had to be released from a similar cordon division - , always in the fear of being too late or being hit by a new attack at the point weakened by detachment. The borders of the empire were far from offering protection: they became a continuous and universally vulnerable area attack.
As a result, the border defenses suffered severe losses and were in danger of collapsing. The Marcomannic War had already revealed its dubiousness. When the enemy broke through on the middle Danube, the Dobruja limes had to be so that the Kostoboks were able to raid deep into Greece unhindered^). The next step was to reinforce the border with a series of smaller burgi suitable for defense. In other respects, too, they tried to make do with the previous system. At the Ra; tian Limes, the palisade wall was transformed into a stone wall, thus driving the direction towards solidification and consolidation.) R. Vulpe, Hist. anc. de la Dobroudja 245 f.
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The construction went one step further. But the Antoninus Pius rampart had to abandoned.
Then the decisive took place. In Britain, Hadrian's Wall was also destroyed. The territory on the right bank of the Rhine was lost. Again and again the enemy crossed the Danube border. And in the east, the Roman defense collapsed altogether. In this emergency, two means were to: the walled enclosure of the large cities in the interior and the creation of effective defensive centers on the border.
The border towns had become focal points of the battle. The highly developed siege warfare of the Sasanian armies made life difficult for the cities on the Mesopotamian border. Nisibis and Karrhai changed hands several times; Dura had been in ruins since the Persian conquest. The danger was no less on the

Danube. When the Goths first appeared before the Moesian cities, they still hoped to drive the defenders from the wall with a mere hail of stones and bullets in order to then take the city with light force. The Germanic attackers very soon from these primitive methods to building machines and constructing a rampart. The well-fortified Byzantium had to endure a veritable siege; the Goths tested the power of their assault on the walls of Thessalonica and Cassandreia. Roman prisoners or subjects from the Bosporan cities have assisted them.
On the other side, citizens and crews competed to ward off the destruction. The inhabitants endeavored to procure everything necessary and took part in the battle themselves. No one was frightened when the Gothic enemy, in his fury, covered the graves of a town with the corpses of stolen cattle and defenceless prisoners.

The recklessness of such an approach only increased the sacrifice and ingenuity of the encircled. As the influx of the frontier peoples into the interior of the empire, the civic spirit of the ancient cities awoke from its long slumber. Athens' young team confronted the plu; nding enemy with weapons in hand.
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Dexippus, the historian of those years, led them in this endeavor. As in the times of Xerxes' invasion, the Isthmus of Corinth was walled off from the Goths.
At the same time, dilapidated fortifications were repaired or new ones erected. Vindonissa became a fortress again in 260: it was intended to pave the way to ItaUen for the Alamanni who had invaded Ra; tia. According to the inscription above the Porta dei Borsari the walls of Verona^) were in 265, under GalCenus. The inserted columns and the irregular construction method show the haste with which work was carried out here. The master builders of the same emperor, Kleodamos and Athenaios from Byzantium, restored the ruined walls of the Danube cities. Nikaia in Asia Minor, which had been badly hit by the invasion of the Goths in 258, also received a new fortification^) from Gallienus. It was completed under Claudius^) and thus resisted the conquest of Bithynia by the Palmyrenes. After AureUan's defeat at Placentia, which was on him by the invading Jutungen, Alamanni and Marcomanni, the situation seemed so critical that Adriatic cities such as Pisaurum hurriedly set about making up for what they had lost; a special emergency officer the walls was appointed at the time*).

The enormous work of building the walls of Rome is linked to this event. The wall that has protected the city to this day was built. The emperor began construction before he on his campaign against Zenobia. The city tro; mical guilds were forced to take over the execution, as all military strength was needed for the decision in the east^). They erected these walls with their defensive , the angular projecting , the arched gates, which in turn were also flanked by towers. Everything was built from ^) P. Marconi, Verona Romana 11 f.; 20.

- A. M. Schneider and W. Kamapp, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (IstamL. Forsch. 9) 3.

- A. M. Schneider and W. Kamapp, op. cit. O. 43; cf. 36f.

^)CIL. 11, 6308-6309; Dessau 583. on this H. D. M. Parker, a. O. 349 n. 11; Joh. Malal., Chron. 12 p. 299 Dind. See J. A. Richmond, The city wall of imperial Rome 29; 242.

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Bricks: Objectivity and a Roman sense united in the work.

The capital of the Gallic Empire, even more exposed to Germanic attacks than Rome, had gone ahead. In the course of the fortifications that Postumus had built on the Rhine^), the walls of Trier were strengthened. The Porta Nigra, already begun in the first half of the century^), may have been given final form at that time. With its massive forms, the façade enlivened by the deep window openings, the heavy shadows of the bosses and cornices, it differs from the simple austerity of the Aurelian wall like nature from Roman.

How the sculptures of Postumus, in which the 'Baroque' of the Antonines and Severans can be heard once again, differ from the impressive brevity of the portraits of Aurelian and Probus. Little more than a century separated these works from the unrivaled pinnacle of spa; tro; mical fortress construction: the triple-structured wall curtain that closed off the new imperial city on the Golden Horn from the land side.

A new era was also dawning. In this century, as the large dominions emerged as self-contained economic areas alongside the and their favored position was already waning, their military importance tended to increase. Sirmium, Trier and Edessa became the great defensive centers of the empire; they often housed the imperial headquarters within their walls.

The country also began to take the defense into its own hands. In the border provinces, a local militia was created from the able-bodied youth, which was called up when the enemy was in danger. This local militia had already served well during the Chauca invasion at the time of the Marcomannic War. It was not only recruited from the towns, but even more so from the rural population with the strength to defend themselves. At the moment of danger, improvised formations were formed: a "rallied band" appeared.

- R. Schuhze, Bonn. Jahrb. 1895, If.; 42; H. Lehner, ibid. 1904, 246f.
- This has been shown by H. Koethe's latest excavations. 194

on the Dacian north-western border as early as the first half the century^).

It was most momentous when lasting institutions grew out of the conditions of the place and the moment.

In Numidia the troops had to be withdrawn under Septimius Severus because they were required elsewhere. The Sahara frontier was thus . It was replaced by the petty guards of the imperial domains. One of their duties was not only to maintain the abandoned forts structurally, but also to provide the garrison themselves. The colonists wereoften forced to settle in these forts; they lived

there under , half-city forms. They may have been granted a certain degree of self-government and other freedoms. Under the later Severans, the number of castles was increased and they themselves were expanded more and more. The importance of the colonies for the defence of the frontier meant that they slowly grew into the status of small farmers organized on a military basis.
The beginnings of something Rome had never known before were stirring everywhere: a real defense system. Such a reorganization could not in this area. The fixed military camp and the border protection based on it were also reorganized in the same way.
When the destroyed castes on the Britannic limes were rebuilt after Septimius Severus, the A@ nderimg was already visible. These new fortifications on Hadrian's Wall took up less space than their predecessors; they were draped together in order to reduce the attack area. The constantly endangered camp corners protected by projecting towers. The fortified camp of the past began to transform into a real fortress that served exclusively defensive purposes.
On the middle Danube front there was no new construction of the caste. The camp form with built-in corner towers or semi-circular projecting towers was not used on the endangered

Borders ^) CIL. 3, 7633 Cf. C. Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans Vantiquite 43 note 5.
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Dacia for a long time in U@ bnng^). Where it was still lacking, they made do with supplementary facilities that redesigned the existing camps to meet the new requirements. Here, too, the corners were secured by Tu; rme^), which eventually grew into formidable bastions. From these it was possible to hit the attacker in the flank when he the camp wall. The reduction of the attack area was achieved by closing all but one of the camp gates. In Intercisa^), moreover, a massive bastion was placed in front of the former gate structure.
Great efforts were also made on the lower reaches of the Danube. GaUienus' victory on the Nessus brought about the first turnaround, which was also associated with a presence at sea. The border was regained through Claudius' battles with the Goths, and Probus undertook to secure it. At that time, Histria, had been ravaged by the Gothic invasions in the middle of the century, was rebuilt^). The protruding also appear there: sometimes they grew into independent structures which, pushed far out to rear, were only connected to the wall by a covered passageway^). A triple earth rampart with was placed in front of the wall to serve as the first obstacle^). All available material was used to build the new fortifications: Architectural stones, inscription stones, sculptures; at a place one found even the drums of the former temples piled into one layer.

The Arab limes, running from the land of Edom west of the Dead Sea to the north, had a similar appearance. There was a large border fort, already of the later type: protruding corner towers and smaller intermediate towers.

- C. Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans Vantiquite 46 note 4; Bologa: M. Macrea, Ann. Com, Mon. Trans. 1936, 25f.; Ca; sei:
E. Panaitescu, ibid. 1929,321f.
- Caupona: St. Paulovics, II limes Romano in Ungheria 13 fig. 14. The fortificatory effectiveness of the irOpTOiLievoi is emphasized by Dio 74, 10, 4 to Byzantium.
- St. Paidovics, op. O. 19 fig. 19.

*) S. Lambrino, Rev. Et. Lat. 11, 463.

5) S. Lambrino, Cetatea Histria (in the journal Baabe de Grau 1930) 6, lower illustration.

S. Lambrino, op. O. 6, upper illus. 196

Its Arabic name el-Ledschun^) derives from the legion with which it was occupied in Diocletianic times. Space was scarce, but no attempt was made to expand it; instead, the teams were crammed into tight quarters. Indeed, they did not hesitate to build over the camp lanes in order to secure the advantage of defense in the smallest of spaces. A new construction of these time^) from from the outset at dispensed with the existing four camp gates; a single passageway, flanked by towers, seemed to and above all seemed to guarantee increased resistance.

The new type of defense in the Syrian limes has found its forUendimg. Built in the first decade of Diocletian's reign, this fortification the sum of the experiences of the century. An opponent of the danger of the Sasanian cavalry armies was now confronted with a comprehensive system of fortifications

to get there. One line lay in front of the other; roads and crossroads connected the base points. Starting with fortified cities such as Bostra and Damascus, Palmyra^) and Nisibis, the system was driven into the desert, where it was intended to secure the few water holes and grassy steppes of the nomadic region from foreign access.

Everywhere, a rigid front, which continued along the borders, was replaced by a staggering of strongpoints; a weakly secured line was replaced by a deep zone with increasingly strong fortresses. The front of the past, once broken through, was soon rolled up and captured in the rear; a breach at one point always the danger that the entire line would have to be abandoned. The new fortifications, on the other hand, also formed part of an overarching system, but principle they were designed in such a way that they could stand on their own and be held even after the loss of neighboring positions. And if, in one case, a large force of troops was spread out over a wide-meshed formation whose

^) R. E. Bru; nnow - A. v. Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia 2, 25 f.) R. E. Bru; nnow - A. v. Domaszewski, a. O. 2, 49 f.

3)D. Krencker in Tb. Wiegand, Palmyra 85f.; H. Lebner, ibid. 106f.; D. Scblmnberger, Berytus 2,164 f.

Whereas individual routes were more or less well defended, in the other case smaller but cohesive bodies of troops were housed in well-chosen and strongly fortified positions, which did not but increased their resistance. And this is where the world-historical aspect of this new is revealed.

Everywhere the border tribes seemed to advancing victoriously: the great movers threatening to swamp the urban Mediterranean basin and, beyond that, the East. The process was the same in Iran, China and the Empire. But just as the Sasanids adopted the fighting style and equestrian style of the Parthians and at the same time transformed it into a component of their own, different form, so did the Romans. The equestrian army of Gallienus was brought about by the military needs of a changed age. It represented a recognition of the new equestrian style and the mounted troop as a decisive weapon in battle. And yet it represented a of a ro; mish kind.

Likewise the border fortifications: they too were basically the same in China, Iran and Rome. U@ everywhere, sedentary, urban and rural man shaped them by reflecting on his own nature. They were the answer to the challenge from the border tribes and nomads; they protected the fertile and cultivated land from plundering and violent conquest. The countries to the left of the Rheiae experienced another spa; tblu; te: in Trier, buildings such as the basilica or the core building of the spa; tere cathedral were built in the course of the fourth century. Moesian cities such as Histria, Tropaeum, Tomis and Abrittus, all by the Goths, were rebuilt in lands and survived, in modest forms, in part until the seventh century. Syria came to rest; Antioch, despite repeated devastation, offered the magnificent building that Libanios draws of it.

The setback is most impressive where the protection of the border fortifications leads to the new emergence of

led to a new era in the life of the Ba; uerhchem and the city. Warlike and peaceful assertions

tion went hand in hand. The food requirements of the frontier troops and the conditions in which they lived (see p. 200 f.) led to careful exploitation of the adjacent hinterland. At the Numidian and Arab limes, areas were wrested from the steppe which have since lain fallow again. A desolate plain like the Sin desert, between the Dead Sea and the Sinai, was covered with smaller towns and country . Artful terraced plantations were laid out; every usable strip of land was taken under the plow or hoe. Cisterns and dams were used to alleviate the water shortage, by storage the irregularity of the soil yield storing crop surpluses in underground silos. During this time, as it lay behind the front line, so to speak, the land experienced its great and only bloom. Only with the invasion of the Arabs and the abandonment of the border fortresses did it sink back into its former state^). 8.

The construction of the new defense system coincided with the creation of the imperial rock army, which was detached from the borders and located in the interior. Gallienus, the father of this army, initiated the new wave of

fortifications through his master builders Kleodamos and Athenaios^). Far from being opposing forms of imperial strategy^), the field army and the new defense system were mutually dependent. Just as such a system and the existence of a reserve of one's own mutually dependent everywhere.
The older border lines, when attacked, had to be primarily concerned with defense. For such

For this purpose, the neighboring troops and section reserves were called upon; even if their activities were successful, they were used up in the defensive battle. The attack was the heart and nerve of every ,
^) Read the report given by E. T. Lawrence, then 22 years old, together with C. L. WooUey: Le desert JeSm(franzo; s. U@ bers.) 54f. Cf. also Sir Aurel Stein, Geograph. Journ. 1938, 65 f.
2) V. Gull. 13, 6; J. A. Richmond, a. 0.242; S. Lambrino, Rev. Et. Lat. 11, 463.
^) A. Alfo; ldi, 15 years ro; m.-german. Commiss. 14. 199

was no room this. The A@ change in the system brought about a turnaround. For now the attacker was in danger of consuming his fresh strength in the bombardment of the one foothold. Instead of a quick and then always successful breakthrough, he had to fight through a zone where the defender dictated the law to him and the most difficult obstacles only confronted him as he advanced. Above all, the powerful and concentrated field army threatened him, who was involved in these undertakings, with a counterattack led from the depths and calculating the enemy's weaknesses.
For this imperial field army also attained the rank of an operational reserve. The counterattack it brought about restored the doctrine that attack is the best defense. And thus it became the bearer of the decision. Consisting of reliable crews, formed by the vexillations, i.e. the younger crews of the regulars remaining in the camps , well armed , mobile

and amply equipped with all the special formations, especially cavalry, it stood out by itself through its strategic importance and its ability to strike above the troop units that were limited to defense with holding defenses on the borders. These units necessarily had to sink to the rank of mere garrison regiments.
Diocletian tried to this development once again by redistributing the entire army across the borders. But even he was practically unable to manage without a field army^). From Constantine onwards the divorce was finalized; he completed and sealed what had been in the pipeline since GaUienus: the separation of the central imperial army from the lower-ranking frontier soldiers stationed in the peripheral areas of the empire.
It is significant that not only the imperial army, but also the frontier army emerged from the middle of the third century. The fundamental divorce was still lacking, but
1) H. M. Parker, Journ. Rom. stud. 23,184 ; 186. Further observations: following the bronze tablet from Brigetio at St. Paulovics, Arch. Hungar. 20,62f.

The preliminary stages go back to the times of Septimius Severus. He not only allowed his soldiers to marry and thus a household, but also seems to have left them and their families to cultivate the land owned by the legion on a parcel-by-parcel basis. Self-sufficiency from their own territory took the place of salary, and it was necessary, especially with the increasing hereditary nature of military service^), for the of the troops to transform themselves into trained and organized small farmers who lived in the vicinity of the

ckers and lived in the camp village, which was organized in an urban form. Alexander Serverus^) seems to have deliberately encouraged this development. He not only gave the soldiers land, but also provided them with working animals and draught animals to cultivate it. These were ; the recipients also had to sign up for military service for their offspring^). Even the discharged veterans were tried to be tied to the soil in the same way. On the Euphrates border it was insisted that they settle in the O@ dla; nders along the limes and thus help to strengthen its security*).

The modernization of the frontier peasants (above p. 195) was thus countered by a development that to the same result. While there, hereditary colons became half soldiers, here soldiers became hereditary settlers and farmers. Both forms coincided in the fact that a substantial part of the offspring was taken from their area.

By the second half of the third century, the development thus begun had progressed further. The descendants of the

^) The extent of this development is shown by the diploma CIL. 16, 132.
H. Nesselhauf, op. cit. O. 118 and M. Geizer, Klio 36, 120 put it at the end of the second century. 2) On the following M. RostovtzefiF, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft 2, 346 note 49. 2) The bronze plaque from Brigetio from the year 311 shows by the type of exemption of the capitatio that the heredity in the Illyrian army was carried out by was: St. Paulovics, op. cit. O. 20, 54.

This has been shown by the new Durapapyrus 101; W. Bradford- Welles, Arch, d^hist. du droit Orient, 1, 261 f.; 276f.

The former inhabitants of Dacia have preserved some remnants of the military language. They use a word derived from the Latin veteranus to denote the word "old"^). And so the Rumanian farmer Siebenbu; rgens calls his village by a name that once meant the camp surrounded by graves^). The word was passed on from the legionnaire, who had descended into a frontiersman and colonist, to the peaceful farmer, who added it to his home .

Especially with the collapse of the monetary economy, from the middle of the century onwards, the new system, which again based on rations in kind, gained in scope. The main beneficiaries were who had remained in the home camp, while the field army's supply units continued to rely on pay and, as the value of money fell, on the forced collection of living expenses. The reorganization of the economy thus deepened the divide that had resulted from strategic necessities. To the extent that the regionally organized troops

intended for border defence were transformed into peasant soldiers, their mobility and effectiveness declined. They increasingly from the field army as an operational reserve, as the bearer of imperial power and imperial unity.
The dangers that had manifested themselves in the regionalism of the great frontier armies and had led to the collapse of the empire were averted for the time being by this course of development. But the

The regional aspirations of the border provinces were replaced by a new difficulty. The detachment of the imperial army from the individual provinces and thus from its former recruiting districts had meant that the strength of barbarians from outside the empire began to fill the ranks of this army. The Germanic tribes slowly asserted their claim to a dominant position within the Roman army

^) Vulg.-lat. vetranus, rum. ba; tra; n.

2) C. Daicoviviu, Dacoromania 5, 478f.; Meyer-Lu; bke, REW.^ 3,461, where the is discussed that Albanian /sa(represents an intermediate stage.

on. They did not only do so within the field army: this development was also evident in the units on the border.
A ring of client states^) had always surrounded the empire; these entities were referred to as the "invisible borders" of the empire. Many of the client states had fallen and been incorporated into the imperial territory, especially in the east. Most of the neighbors on the Rhine and Danube had withdrawn from Roman suzerainty. Slowly, a new procedure was .
The client states were once a sign that Rome's power did not end at its defensive borders and river frontiers, but extended beyond them. They also formed a border defense: located in front of the borders of the empire, they kept the first attack away from it2). In the event of war, they provided federal troops for the Roman army or supplied it with the best soldiers through conscription, as the Batavians had once done; return, they were tax exemption and other rights.

However, it was always the rule that these states and peoples lay outside the empire. Under Caracalla, a new form of clientele treaty emerged, according to which the empire's neighboring undertook not to attack its borders in return for monetary payment. But even this form, which showed the incipient weakness of power, was based on the principle of keeping neighbors whose friendship had been obtained in exchange for money away from the empire's territory, leaving them outside.
In the fourth century, the situation suddenly changed. Having fled from the attacks of the Huns, the Visigoths were given seats in Thrace, i.e. within the territory of the empire. They were obliged to protect the borders and help with weapons; the system that had previously surrounded the borders was now incorporated into them. The Visigoths received imperial , but retained their own princes and their own law. It was

^) On the following: E. Komemann, Staaten, Vo; lker, Ma; nner aus der Gesch. d. Ahert. 96f.; J. Klose, Roms Klientel- Randstaaten (Bresl. Hist. Unters. 14) 130 f. ^

2) Cf. R. Syme, Laureae Aquincenses 1, 285.

A development began that ended with the founding Germanic empires on Roman soil.
The first signs of this development go back to the third century; it also proves to be a turning point. When Emperor Marcus transplanted parts of Germanic tribes to Roman soil, they were defeated people disposed of in good . The decisive events again fell under the reign of Gallienus^). He left the ruler of the client state

Palmyra the defense of the Euphrates border. But the same conditions also emerged on the Rhine and Danube.
For once the most valuable troops had been withdrawn to the hinterland and united to form the imperial field army, replacements had to be created on the borders. The cadres deployed there were not sufficient on their own, and so the was filled by frontier from outside the empire, who were taken over as . GalHenus handed over the border protection of Upper Pannonia^) to the Marcomanni; in order to confirm the treaty, he is said to have married the daughter of their king. A@ similarly, the territory on the right bank of the Rhine was left to the Germanic tribes that followed, who may also have officially regarded as allies. For the area was by no means renounced; as late as the fourth century, the former Upper Rhine Limes was still referred to as the Roman-Burgundian border. And it was hoped that the admission of foreign states could be at the appropriate moment^). In the East, this was indeed achieved through Aurelian's victories. But on the Rhine, it remained a mere claim; neither Probus nor Valentinian I were able to change this situation.
1) For the following see the work mentioned above p. 99 note 5
A. Alfo; ldi's.

- R. Egger, Laureae Aquincenses 1, 147.
- On the question: E. Norden, Altgermanien 37f.; 65f.; criticism in R. Syme, Joutji, Rom, stud. 1936, 75f.; A. Alfo; ldi a. O.

FU@NTH CHAPTER THE
EMPERORS 1.
It was a fundamental view of antiquity, especially of the Roman Empire, that the free choice of a son and heir by adoption was preferable to generation. What was born by natural means remained accidental xmd of

The other is that one may choose according to one's own will, according to one's own insight. And there one often receives heirs, here one can join the brightest and best.
As a testimony to this, the Greek heroic saga was invoked as the epitome of all obligatory and nature. Affection and personal choice had more intimate bonds than related blood; Achilles and Cheiron, Achilles and Phoinix, Pallas and Akoites were cited as examples. Long in the private sphere, adoption gained its greatest significance in the imperial succession.

Since Nerva had accepted Trajan as his son and successor, it began to assert itself. No other form, it was thought, was as suitable for guaranteeing the state the election of an effective ruler.
"After the Juu; sh-Claudian house has come to an end, adoption will always know how to find the best," Tacitus prophesied to his Galba, looking back. It was not mere kinship, it was thought, but the intrinsic value of both: the one who and the one who was chosen, that formed the unifying bond. The common obligation in the task, the common calling to govern the state father and son together. Otherwise, the kingdom was inherited within a family; through adoption, however, a free choice and thus at least a substitute for the lost freedom was created.
"Not in the bedchamber," the younger Pliny calls out to Trajan, "but in hay, not in front of the marriage bed, but in front of the
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Resting place of the highest Jupiter, your adoption has been accomplished, not to bondage, but to freedom, salvation and security!" is not surprising to encounter the name of the sky god in such a context. Jupiter, who is turned away from everything merely natural, everything merely private - he, the guarantor of Rome's state life, stands above the act by which the best is chosen as the ruler for the salvation of the whole.
There is no need to ask what the for these imperial adoptions were. Whether they made a virtue out of necessity, prompted by the lack of offspring. Antoninus Pius at least, pursued a pronounced family policy with the help of his . Enough: the principle existed and was as such; a whole century seemed to profess it.
It is a one-sided spiritual principle that manifests itself in adoption; at the same time, it is a distinctly principle. On the other hand, there is another that emphasizes the natural connection. It is not the spiritual succession - in work and task - that is decisive, not even the bond between Father and Son. It is solely the direct attachment of this son to the mother who gave birth to him. Mother and Son one because they are flesh of the same flesh. It is a natural and almost tangible reality that them together: the same material from which they were both created.
A feminine view of the world has expressed here; it has as one-sided as the spirit in adoption. Once, among the Etruscans, the man felt himself to be his mother's son, and it was the same with the 'mother-right' peoples of ancient Asia Minor. Now this feminine view of the world was also to prevail in Rome.

In early history, the Apennine Peninsula saw a number of cultures that were related to the Etruscan one. They are all characterized by the same material, natural and feminine attitude. Even Indo-Germanic took possession of the land, this pre-Indo-Germanic layer soon broke through again with lasting effect.
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Altmittella; ndian essence is a basic component of the
"Italic^' in contrast to Rome, which stubbornly resisted these influences^). At the moment when, with the first Flavians, the Italic aristocracy entered the

ranks of the urban ro; mish, when it was admitted to the Senate, a component appeared in the name of the new aristocracy which, in a transformation of an Etruscan custom, also expressed descent from the mother^).
The opposing movement soon began to spread to the empire. The first step came from a side from which it would have been difficult to expect.
Marcus Aurelius appointed his own son as heir to the throne. The man who otherwise represented the of adoptive emperorship, who enhanced them even more and lived up to them more unconditionally, thus gave up a riddle to his fellow world. It was said that Marcus' paternal love for weak was by no means blind; Commodus' appointment as heir to the throne had only been brought about by his mother, the younger Faustina. There was a persistent that she had not shied away from betraying her husband and joining forces with the rebel Avidius Cassius in order to secure her son's future. . . But such interpretations were misleading. Marcus himself put his son in the place he was supposed to take; he did not

underlined this decision with significant acts^).
Five years later, Commodus was appointed Ca; sar. The emperor responded to the apostasy of Avidius Cassius by ordering his son to don the Mannestoga; he was appointed
"First of the adhgen youth", he was celebrated as the resurrected Romulus. The dignity of emperor, triumph and consulship - these and other things followed quickly, falling to the heir at a young age. When his father died, Commodus had been co-emperor for almost three years. He succeeded him without difficulty.
"My father preferred to call me comrade instead of son, because he thought that was just a physical association, the other

- Verf., Welt als Geschichte 3, If. and Pannonia-Ko; nyotar 32 (1937).
- B. Doer, The ro; m. Naming 103f.; 143f.

^) For the portrayal of Commodus, the author is committed to the picture drawn by W. Weber, even where he deviates from it.

but fu; x such in action and attitude." This is how Commodus is said to have spoken at his first appearance. Marcus himself once thanked the that he had been given healthy and talented children. Could he therefore think that in this case natural succession and succession of the best coincided? When Marcus decided on the succession, he had several married daughters, but most of the sons-in-law were not eligible for the succession due to their origin^). Designating a man from outside the imperial house have met with resistance from the family and its powerful supporters. Did he therefore accept the succession of the son as

The most natural and lasting was taken? Enough, the principle that had been overcome was broken through, the step away from the spiritual-masculine principle of succession and towards the opposite principle was dared. It was

not yet realized. But by setting out to give nature what seemed to be its rightful due, the way was also cleared for it in other respects. Like a stream that had been held back, other broke out which, alien to the classical spirit of antiquity, also referred to nature and its instincts, and indeed to more primordial forms of life.

It was Commodus himself who broke through such powers. Be it as it may, seek to understand it or condemn it, speak of the delusions of a self-intoxicated ruler or recognize the bad disposition already in the boy - there is no doubt that with him a new type of man emerges. Or more correctly: that here old and oldest instincts are stirring anew. Concealed and by antiquity, they are once again coming to light: primordial middle-class nature together with the forgotten forms of eastern rulership. In the century in which antiquity went to , previous worlds rose up once again to a new age together with it.

Commodus' youthful portrait can be imaged because it already shows the decisive features. The eyes with the 1) On the following J. Keil, Klio 1938, 293f.

Fig. 48 Young Commodus. Capitoline Museum, Rome

(p. 208f.). J

Abb. 51. Einzug in Seleukeia (oben) und Eroberung von Ktesiphon (unten). Septimius-bogen, Rom (S. 170f.).

The gaze that looks over the other people, the pointed chin, the spoiled mouth are reminiscent of a Habsburg infant or of Greco's heads. An overly cherished spa; tlingstum, proud of the line of its ancestors, expresses itself here, regards itself as the sole measure of things.

The young ruler immediately invokes his imperial lineage. He was not brought to the throne from outside, but it belonged to him by virtue of his birth. Commodus was born in the imperial house. And when he emerged from his mother's womb, the purple welcomed him; the light of day the newborn man and the emperor at the same time. Indeed, imperial blood flowed in these veins from three ancestors. The mother Faustina was the daughter of the emperor and god Antoninus, and in the female line she back to Hadrian and Trajan.

Birth and womb, natural connection and the nobility of maternal descent - these are the ideas that are invoked. Everything is seen in material, physical terms. And from such a perspective, another can be understood: Commodus' pride in

his even and well-groomed , which he used to bathe no less than six or seven times a day; in his hair and beard, which were so radiantly blond that they were said to be sprinkled with gold dust. After all, we are living in a time when the art of portraiture has created examples of the most refined hair treatment in the of Lucius Verus and Commodus himself, when a poet of the rank of Apuleius has written his glorious praise of female hair^). In general, a KuJt of the is in the offing. For it is not its discipline, as the antithesis of spiritual discipline and spiritual nobility, that is being practiced here, but this , in beauty and bursting power, with all its impulses.

and senses, reaches out the spirit and tries to cast a spell over it.
It was the least that Commodus showed his pleasure in the arts of physical display, the racecourse and the circus at every opportunity. Or that one did it to the other ^) Metam. 2, 8f.; cf. H. Riefstahl, Der Roman des Apuleius 87.
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The emperor kept a harem in the palace: women and boys of exquisite beauty and of more than usual numbers. Commodus was not afraid to expose things openly. He lived his life and lived it in a way that seemed to declare it a , indeed the only worthy attitude of a ruler.
When he from the Danubian war and celebrated his triumph, he turned to the boy Saoteros in the chariot, who held Jupiter's golden crown above his head. Commodus kissed him with his bent back; he did so several times and in front of everyone. If Jupiter and Ganymede provided him with the model for this, if the emperor drew this inference from the triumphator's identity with the god, it was certainly not the god of state that he had in mind. Jupiter Optimus Maximus reigned free of all attachments to marriage and birth, to kinship and mere nature. The lord of the Capitol was without a wife or daughter, for Juno and Minerva had joined him as cult companions. He was also free of all love affairs, which another time and world had assigned to him in abundance; the Roman's sense of dignity did not permit these colorful and opulent additions to the image of his highest god. For Commodus, on the other hand, rose up against this abstract god of Rome, against this representation of the state.

Principle again that old and seductive image which made the god live to his senses, costing him the enjoyment of his dominion to the utmost.
And yet Commodus was serious about what he considered to be rehgion. His actions here were fed by the same sources as when he seemed to profane the dignity of triumph. If this emperor subjected himself to the cruel demands of eastern mysteries and demanded the same of his fellow believers, it was not the fanaticism of a foreign per se that was running riot. The ruler of the ancient Orient was certainly first in line with the gods. But year after the same ruler was asked to humble himself before these and to repent; the deepest humiliation then that sublimity.
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gotta; hnHcher Majesta; t. These rites had penetrated as far as the oldest Rome and were celebrated there year after year, albeit in a transformation that was characteristic of Roman nature^). Commodus picked up where the Etruscan kings had left off. He lived through all the horrors of bloodthirsty crimes; he had to carry out reality what others seemed to mean only figuratively. And the bearer of the imperial dignity was not afraid to appear as humble servant of Isis with a shaved head and in the garb of a mendicant priest. In a public procession he carried the image of the Anubis.

In Commodus' animal fights, a behavior that is oriented the East is already outwardly recognizable. Parthians and Moors teach him the by which he kills ostriches and other animals. As here with the bow, his marksmanship is generally ; the emperor kills the most dangerous beast with a single blow. Hadrian, too, had rebuffed

how he killed the boar on horseback; Alexander the Great was the role model here. On the other hand, the master shot on the hunt is the prerogative of the Iranian king and hero of fru; hauf. Ancient oriental ideas of the king as Lo; wen- and dragon to; ter or as archers are behind everything. With Gilgamesh, with the lo; wenwu; rgende Cyrene, this imaginary world IQ goes into the go; ttHchen realm. In Commodus' time, Mithras, the taurus , offered a role model that was available everyone. The Great King of the East also himself by conquering all human opponents. The Arsacids had revived the idea that had come down to us. Gotarzes II was at the foot of Mount Bisutun - where Darius celebrated his triumph over the false Bardiya and the

"Lu; genko; nige" - to see how he threw down his opponent in a chivalrous duel. Ever since Hadrian, the emperors of Rome have been depicted putting the foot on the neck of the defeated enemy. Commodus drew the conclusions from this for his own actions; he drew them in an unconditional and entirely personal form. As he did at the

^) Verf., Welt als Geschichte 1, 413f.; Altheim-Mattingly, A history of Roman religion 171 f.

The celebration of the mysteries was not content with symbolic sacrifice and death, but demanded that the parable become reality, as in this too. The appearance as a gladiator, the public flaunting of victories won was only one way in which the emperor's will was . The veneration of Hercules, and finally the equation with him, meant crowning and the necessary conclusion.

The need for transformations of the self has always been strong in Commodus. The emperor was seen entering the theater wearing a robe of white Chinese silk; it was interwoven with gold threads and had A@ sleeves in the Asian style... Or he wore a golden diadem set with Indian stone and held the heraldic staff of Hermes in his hand. It seemed like a masquerade and yet it was much more. A mask means that someone wants to be something or believes he is

something. And the divine mask is only used by those who have to represent, who have to express their emotion of power, Commodus was presented with the lo; wenfell of Hercules together with the club; the servants placed both on a gilded throne chair, whether the emperor was present in the theater or not.
The hero whose insignia became the emperor's was the conqueror of man and beast; through his actions he had conquered and pacified the world. His imitator on the throne called himself the "undefeated bringer of peace the whole world" and the Roman Hercules.
There may have been a veneration of the great fighter and tolerator earlier, especially among Commodus' . The way in which this emperor lived up to his idol was nevertheless his own act. AH the strange, the original and the new that in Commodus' person was once again brought together under an ancient form. But it must be remembered that the Alcide, before he became the forerunner of Dorianism, the human sufferer and overcomer, already had his place in a pre-classical world. Heracles never able to deny the signs and dubiousness of this origin, and it is precisely these that come to life in Commodus' actions. The
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The deeds of the ida; ish dactyl and husband of the fifty Thespiades found their imitation in the orgies of the imperial palace, and so has the servant of Omphale.
Roman historiography has always paid special attention to the death of great personalities. In the manner of this death, in the accompanying circumstances or in the last words, the unrepeatable peculiarity of the person who thus departs from the stage is revealed once again. In contrast to Greekism, which here and elsewhere is turned towards the standardized, the generally binding, the Roman's focus rests on the uniqueness of appearance. Commodus died of the powers that made his life what it was; by coming him completely, they destroyed him at the same time. Before the day when the emperor intended to move to the gladiatorial barracks, his favorite wife handed him the poisoned cup, and the wrestler with whom he used to practice threw down the weak man and him.
2.
The historical significance of the Severan dynasty can only be understood if it is seen as a whole. As different as its founders may be - and there seems to be a world between a Septimius and an Alexander Severus - there is still one form that encompasses them all.
A mysterious destiny guided the founding of the dynasty. It was more than a historical coincidence that brought together the Roman knight L. Septimius Severus from Leptis in North Africa and Julia Domna, a Syrian from a priestly family. Everything that arose from this union was to have far-reaching consequences.

Septimius had been a devotee of the art of stargazing since his early days. For a small price he brought himself into a capital trial; but he mastered the danger and brought the to the cross. At a young age, a "mathematician" predicted his

great fortune, and now the man thus destined to become emperor was looking for a woman who was born under a; hnchen aspects.
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was. He found her in Julia Domna, whose surname sckon expressed the idea of domination.
The Septimians were probably of Itahian origin^), but the syrtical nature of this scion had already left its mark. This cunning and , restlessly mobile and , this man who flared up in anger and yet was secretive, greedy for money and thrifty, was a true symbol of his African soil. The depravity of his youth is reminiscent of Augustine, his penchant for compulsion and magic of what Apuleius was accused of. from Tyre and Sidon are said to have founded Severus' native city of Greater Leptis; later it was subject to Carthage, and until the first imperial period the city name was written on coins in Phoenician letters; in general, the Punic language was still in full use, on inscriptions^) as well as in personal dealings. Septimius Severus spoke it fluently, as well as Greek and Latin, but despite his excellent training, you could tell he was an African by his tone of voice right into old age. The emperor's sister only understood her native idiom; the Punic woman spoke the language of the ruling people with Mu; he.
Septimius Severus remained aware of this origin. Having come to power, he enriched his native city with magnificent

The triumphal arch of the emperor and a nymphaeum donated by him bear witness to this . The basilica of the forum of Leptis bears the inscription of its founder, and the capitals show the imperial eagle. Carthage, Utica and Leptis were granted Latin citizenship by Severus. He protected his homeland with a limes against the invasions of Ra; uberian tribes^). The tomb of the greatest Carthaginian Hannibal, located far away in the Bithynian Libyssa, was rebuilt by him in marble^).
U@ t is the Phoenician Africa that emerges in Severus. His wife Julia is portrayed as Juno Caelestis, the city of

- G. M. Columba in: Africa Romana 110 (Istituto di studi Romani 1935).
- A new find: Arch. Anz. 1937, 460 (G. Caputo).
- G. Columba in: Africa Romana 117.

On the situation in: Th. Wiegand, Athen. Mitt. 27, 321 f. 214
Carthage^). The inscription on an altar this imperial goddess reminds us that she came from Syria, thus characterizing the origin of the Carthaginian Tanit just as much as that of the empress herself. People were still very much aware of the fa; den that to their old homeland.
For somehow Septimius, when he took the Syrian woman as his wife, to his origins; from them he drew new strength. The man from the Semitic coastal city of North Africa connected with the mighty priestly house of the Semitic Baal in Emesa. This god had long been revered beyond the borders of his city; pilgrims from all parts of Syria flocked to him. He was soon to prepare to conquer Rome itself.

The belief in the omnipotence of the stars had the two together; as sun and moon, they allowed themselves to be glorified on the coins. There, too, ancient were powerful in them. The celestial , it was taught, reign unrestrained by time and place. They are masters of the universe and eternity. The heavens and their inhabitants, the stars, determine all destiny; the earth and human beings are subject to the courses they follow. So that the world forms a whole, whose parts are connected with each other by effect and counter-effect.

Septimius Severus adhered to this belief throughout his life; he was determined by it in decisive situations. The man was powerfully attracted to the hidden and secret, whether it was written down in writings or revealed in the thought patterns of an ancient past. That is why the wonderland of A@ gypt became an experience for him; he visited the ancient royal cities and the Colossi of Memnon, the Serapeion, the tomb of Alexander and immersed himself in their secrets. Strange , spells and omens accompanied him everywhere; a contemporary could his own book with them. The magnificent façade, which fronted the south corner of the Palatine and Septimius' own palace, bore the images of the seven planetary gods that symbolized everything.

^) A dedication from Sarmizegetusa, set by slaves of the imperial house, hei C. Daicoviciu, An. Inst. Stud. Clas. Cluj 1, 87f. More in F. Do; lger, Antike u. Christent. 1, 103.

and ruled them. The emperor was enthroned at their center, directly under the sun, just as in the ziggurat of the Babylonians the god had his place as ruler of the cosmos in the midst of the seven regions of the world. Inside too

of the palace was decorated with the stars, but the sign above Septimius' birth and death indistinct, so that no one would know when the ruler's hour of death was appointed.

For Septimius persecuted with the death penalty all those who, pretending to for the salvation of the emperor, questioned the Chalda; er about his nativity. This man, who himself adhered to the belief in the stars and was guided on his path by them, was suspicious that this belief did not turn against him. Mistrust and suspicion followed him wherever he went, and a secret fear weighed on his actions. This fear guided Septimius when he consulted the astrologer who predicted and empire, or when he took counsel with 'Pannonian bird-showers' before the decisive battle. No one was sure of the emperor's trust, and even with the one who seemed to be an exception for a long time: the aUma; chtic Plautianus, a dream face was enough to make the accusation heard.

One has spoken of the "hollow " of the Oriental and the North African. The world presents itself to them as a vault on the inside of which the sun and stars move. The sky is not the infinite expanse, not height and distance, but the firmament above them like a hollow. The Iranians use a word that also refers to the "stone" to describe this heaven; the cave in which Mithras slays the bull is its image. It is not the liberating, but the rigid, imprisoning and oppressive

that is present in the image of heaven. It weighs heavily on man, it is his law; it transforms itself into pressure and fear in the soul of the individual.

Septimius' heart was with fear of the world, xmd fear and terror emanated from him. Once his enemy

he pursued relentlessly. There was no and no forgiveness; only the ostracism of the hated man could end the emperor's mistrustful fear. But even then he still raged against the wife and children of the outcast; with an African thirst for revenge he drove his horse the corpse of Clodius Albiaus. He planted the severed head of Niger on a stake in front of the besieged Byzantium. Against all these areas of horror and fearthe pledge of safety rose radiantly, which the stars promised him and which new visions to him again and again. At her behest, the bond with his destined wife was knotted; a bond that was unbreakable.

In a marriage entered into under such circumstances, the female part had its own weight from the outset. Juliet was not merely the emperor's wife, she wanted to be mistress herself, as her epithet implied. The mu; nts of the East showed her in regalia that was otherwise reserved for magistrates^). At this time, oriental character began to make itself felt everywhere, not only in the ReHgion. The type of the beautiful Syrian woman appears several times in the portraits of the time. Septimius' gardepra; fect Plautianus, like the emperor a African, kept his daughter, Caracalla's late wife, in the midst of eimuchs and musicians as if in a harem. With Jxdia Domna, the East ascends the imperial throne. She was an educated and beautiful woman,as is assured^). She socialized with philosophers and sophists; she to share her philosophical knowledge with the

audiences. Hard luck, which she encountered, caused her to devote herself even more to these areas over the years. Her circle the great jurists of the time or A@ physicians of the rank of Galen, as well as Philostratus, who, at the empress's instigation, described the life of Apollonius, the miracle-worker from Tyana. But it is precisely this attitude towards the secret and the miraculous that shows what a child of the mind JuKa . Even in her rehgio; sen attitude she was able to

- E. S. G. Robinson, Numism. Chron, 1937, 240f.
- M. Platnauer, The life and reign of Septimius Severus 144 f.

deny their origins. Just as her education was less Greek than Greek-oriented and she gave a Hellenized Syrian, Antipater of Hierapolis, to teach her sons.

Certainly the direction towards the mysterious and miraculous united Septimius and JuHa Domna. But Severus' relationship to these realms was more masculine and more massive: the knowledge of them was power and security; the guidance through an otherworldly world soon turned into , restlessness, vengefulness. There is also a longing for security behind the woman's actions. But it is incomparably softer, more devoted and more in

need of consolation; it is the "rehgio; se " that emerges in the history of antiquity.
There are times when rehgion seems to coincide with such , with such longing. Faith is the child of this longing, but faith and doubt together like light and shadow^). Both complement each other, and only in a religiously broken world is faith and the longing of faith modern.

The knights of the Edda, the true Romans, did not know such emotions; them the gods were simply there. They were the most immediate and certainty, and even in Severus' behavior a reflection of this shines through. Behind Julia's efforts, on the other hand, there emerged an awareness of human depravity and sinfulness, an awareness that seemed to be directly related to human and personal existence^).
Busts and hats show the impressive head of this woman: padded and fat, but with a sharp outline; the nose boldly curved, a full, sensual mouth above the massive chin. Her , it was said, was only surpassed by her immorality. She is said to have inquired of a Caledonian princess about the that prevailed among her people; one sees the Syrian woman before her, apparently mocking, in truth involved in the matter and indiscreetly asking questions, in order, of course, to get an equally

- K. Kerenyi, ApoUon 28.
- For a parallel, see H. Rief Stahl's Bemerkungen: The Novel of Apuleius 131 f.

to receive such a proud answer. And she was accused not only of adultery, but also of conspiracy against her husband. Nevertheless, the emperor tolerated her at his side, and her power over him was great. Only Plautianus, the guard prefect, was a powerful rival in her husband's favor. Julia raged against him without hesitation, but everything seemed to be in vain. Then her son Caracalla, who had joined his mother's cause with his own, brought about downfall.
Septimius' own rule was built on such foundations ; soon had to he at the future of his

think of his sex. For a time, he feigned affection for the adoptive system; it was then that he was forced to tolerate Clodius Albinus as co-regent. When war broke out between the two, the mask fell. While still on the march against the enemy, Septimius appointed his eldest son as Ca; sar and successor; he gave him the name Antoninus, for the usurper sought everywhere link up with the illustrious house of his predecessors. The appointment of the younger Geta, who was initially excluded from the succession to the throne, followed. The imperial father decided to leave the state to two successors, like Antoninus Pius, except that the latter had added them to his house by adoption, while he handed over to Rome-born rulers. . . The commitment to natural succession was confirmed by the elevation of the JuHa to the

"Mother of Ca; sars" underlined. She thus received the ancient honorary name of the harem in the East; she received it in the same year that Caracalla was appointed heir-designate to the throne.

Fear and mistrust^), the emperor's vindictiveness and deviousness, his questioning of the stars, not least the treatment of his soldiers and the founding of a new guard - they all arose from the same cause: the desire for security. This desire is, as it were, the primal sense of oriental and Mediterranean man. He is constantly turned towards it, and with all means, if necessary with magical means, one tries to force what does not voluntarily . Believing the stars and destiny as the one who ordered Septimius to give his life to the woman and who ordered him over everything

- His words to the Senate Dio 75, 15, 2 b.

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This security guaranteed by the gods corresponded to the decision in the succession for the

natural heirs. Here, too, an orientaUonal attitude is revealed: it knows no other guarantee of fidelity and consistency than that by the pledge of natural kinship. A Syrian oracle had predicted the emperor's future , but it had not concealed from him that his house perish in blood. The imperial father left no stone unturned to ensure the future of at least his so; hne. He left them as much gold as no one had ever left before. He had JuHa, their mother, portrayed as Concordia, who was supposed to watch over the So; hne's honor^). The image of Fortuna, which used to accompany the ruler on his travels and was placed in his chambers, was doubled so that each son could into possession of his own Fortuna. It was as if this da; monic man wanted to force everything into the path of his will.

Septimius' plans failed. The resistance did not come from outside, because this emperor pushed through everything he wanted. What broke his wishes were the very powers he on.

Blood and natural kinship certainly signify a binding force. If it finds its foundation in a spiritual attitude, the bond becomes the strongest imaginable. Septimius was far from setting an example for his so; men, from committing them to a spiritual attitude that should be their law. He was only interested in the blood-massive connection. But purely materially, conceived as a magical compulsion, as Septimius did, blood develops a da; mony its own, which has an effect for good or ill.

Septimius himself was the first to shoot such powers in face. This father, otherwise implacable and for

deaf to every whine, always gave in to his so; hnen. Although he suspected,

- P. W. Townsend, Amer, Journ. Arch. 1938, 519f.; also W.

W. Tarn, Alexander the Great and the unity of mankind 13. 220

What had to come, he only forgave and admonished. He did so when he caught Caracalla in an attempt on his own father's life; he no differently in the murderous quarrel between the two sons.

For if Septimius was all too attached to his blood and gave in, this blood was rebellion against each other. That which was supposed to bind and secure had risen up in a yes; hem upheaval and broken through all laws in unleashed power. The emperorship of brothers, in which Septimius established the firm foundation of his dynasty, had generated fratricidal hatred from within; the seemingly most perfect unity the deepest discord, the deepest hatred there is. It began during his father's lifetime and did not rest until Caracalla had disposed of his younger brother.
f Geta, the mother's lover, was friendly and everyone
. He had inherited the characteristics of the Syrian woman and thus the characteristics of the Syrian race in general: the joy of festivity and , of the of a cheerful and happy life.
existence. When, after his death, Caracalla up among the court, his order to kill was given to the acrobats, actors and musicians whom Geta had kept as his heirs. Certainly he won hearts more easily than his brother's inhuman manner; but Geta was also softer, more feminine and in this he was a of Elagabal and Alexander Severus, who were entirely as props.

their mother grew up. Just as it was no coincidence that Geta was killed by his brother, who was more ruthless and made of harder wood, so it was no coincidence that when the younger one was struck the deadly blow, he breathed his last on his mother's breast.
^ Caracalla had inherited his father's unspoken resentment.
but Septimius' thirst for blood had turned to cruelty in his son, and his deviousness had turned to treachery and treachery^). If Septimius had restricted his rule to the army
^) Pra; gnant a; nds Dio 77, 6, 1 about what bad character traits Caracalla owed to his African father, his Syrian mother and his Gallic homeland; cf. 77, 10, 2; 78, 3, 1.
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If he had flattered him and given him gifts, Caracalla went one step further. He unabashedly addressed the Pra; torians as comrades; in the face of danger, he could call them "". He wanted to be nothing other than a common soldier. Just as he shared his bread with them, so he went ahead of them in their work , shoveling , digging or beating bridges at home. The simple man, who saw that the emperor, despite his poor physique, never lagged behind , him an unlimited affection, and generous gifts of money ensured that this sentiment never waned. Above all, however, this sprout of Syrian-African blood had taken a liking to the peoples of the north. He appeared in Germanic costume and with a blond Peru; cke whose hair was knotted in the Germanic manner. Germanic tribes and Scythians formed his bodyguard, who were armed with unlimited

Loyalty to him; in the end she tried to his death on the mo; rders.
In addition to his warlike nature, Caracalla devoted his time to hunting and racing. On the chariot he presented himself as the image of the sun god. He cared little for the administration of justice; he could call an officer who knew

how to stand his ground in the forum a sissy. He detested and despised education, refinement and refined manners. The base instincts of the lower soldiery had taken possession of this emperor.
Caracalla's portrait bears unequivocal witness to this. Even the pausba; ckish boy's face is notable for its spherical eyes and impertinent nose. Everything is united in the man's : roughness in the brute manner of movement, the vulgarity in the low forehead, the backwardness in the doe-like eyes. The fact that a portrait thus to the last detail was tolerated, indeed publicly recognized, testifies to the state of mind of the man who accepted and sanctioned such a bare portrait. It is understandable that he could rejoice when an oracle once called him a wild beast. The common had become the style.
And yet this man had his great role models. What was unique about him, however, was the way he understood them and lived up to them.
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It has been said that Caracalla's aim in issuing his Constitutio Antoniniana was to achieve a great feat, something Alexander-like. Alexander as a guiding principle also pervades the actions of this strange successor. It takes on the most diverse forms and still shines like a will-o'-the-wisp in the actions that

can only be explained by an incipient derangement.
When Caracalla was in Macedonia, this cult of Alexander developed in bizarre but still harmless forms. He dedicated statues to his idol everywhere; he had himself depicted with him in such a way that one half of his head represented his own, the other that of the great Macedonian^). A Macedonian phalanx was assembled, and its commanders had to bear the names of Alexander's generals. Weapons and that the world conqueror was once supposed to have used were put to his own use by this descendant. It was only that ridicule was inevitable, especially in a city like Alexandreia, which the prerogative of the la; star. It found its nourishment in the contrast between the emperor's small stature and the heroes Alexander and Achilles, whom he had chosen for himself. Just as the mockery was under the great king's sign, so too was the revenge taken by the victim. Caracalla announced that he wanted to assemble a phalanx worthy of his patron saint from Alexandrians^); and he wreaked his bloody vengeance on the unsuspecting people who had together for the undertaking. Another role model here: Sulla, whom this emperor is said to have revered for his inhumanity.
Just as there the great name was misused for a boy's crime, so also in a second and similar case the man
^) Herod. 4, 8, 1. On such parallelisms between ruler and god, ruler and heros, which lead almost to mixed formations, cf. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 38, 192f.; esp. 199.
^) This is only found in Herod. 4, 9, 4. For the rest, his entirely with Dio 77, 22 f., where 77, 13, 5 must also be added (M. Bang, Hermes 41,

623f.; P. M. Mayer, Klio 7, 128 note 4). I am unable to see how Giss. 40, III invalidates the unanimous motivation of the bloodbath in Dio and Herodian; despite A. v. Premerstein, Philol. Suppl. 16, 75; Ritterling, RE. 12, 1318; P. M. Maver, op. O. 128f.; M. Rostovtzeff, Gesellsch. u. Wirtsch. 2, 129.

The idea of Alexander hovered before his eyes. Caracalla pretended to demand the daughter of the Parthian king in marriage^). Parthians and Romans, he said, to stick together; their fighting style and economic conditions pointed to mutual complementarity. United under one crown, they were able to subdue the entire earth.

In the planned unification of the two peoples, the Alexandrian idea of creating a new master race from Macedonians and Persians comes life once again. It does so a contemporary form, and it does so in the dreams of a madman. Caracalla once described the great Macedonian as the "Augustus of the East". The author of the Constitutio Antoniniana had an oriental Alexander in mind, who also allowed his subjects to share in his empire. And there should be no lack of the very twist that Caracalla gave to the idea.

The union of his own imperial tribe, descended from imperial ancestors, with a scion of the illustrious house of the Arsacids was destined to the work of uniting Romans and Parthians. There appears the demand that a royal tribe should only enter into marriage with its own kind - a demand that as foreign to Rome as it had been common in the Orient since ancient times. The god marriages of brother

and sister, the Homeric Greeks from an older world, the earthly image of these marriages in the Egyptian kings right down to the Ptolemies - they are all based on the belief that the noblest blood can only be joined together. They also show where the logical and one-sided continuation of this idea had to lead: to incest. This accusation had already been made against Commodus. CaracaUa the last shy away from such an act.

Under his reign, the importance of Sera's mother Julia increased rather than decreased. At times, she was left entirely in charge of the business. But the hand of the wu; stling was no lighter on her own mother than on the others. She had, another

1) Herod. 4, 11; Dio 79, 1, If; see also N. C. Debevoise, A political history of Parthia 265.

Fig. 52 Elagabal. CapitoHnian Museum, Rome (p. 228).

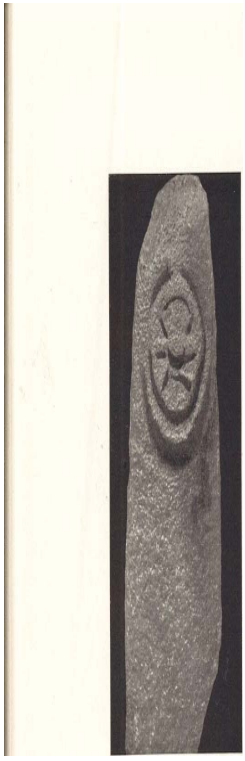

Fig. 53 Baitylos with sun and moon. National Museum, Aleppo (p. 228).

Abb. 54. Vorland des Drusengebirges, zwischen Damaskus und Sanamen (S. 235 f.).

Jocasta, the quarrelling so; hne tried again and again to bring them together. When the idea of dividing the kingdom between them arose, she had preferred to cut in two rather than to involved in the plan. Then the terrible thing had happened, the bloodied Geta had breathed his last in her arms. But Caracalla's cruelty forced her to hide her grief and show joy and laughter instead.
Contemporaries believed that this son was not afraid of the A@ utmost. No one can decide whether it came to that between mother and son. It is enough that one could tell of the incest that took place, that the itself to these two. Afterwards Julia had told the son who

"Whatever you like is allowed!" she shouted at him. With these words, she had teased him and provoked him into action. Here, too, Julia was Jocasta. Only that she carried out with open eyes and possessed by her da; mon what had been a blessed fate for the other until the hour of her death.
The connection within the same tribe, which was allowed to refer to Zeus and Hera and which had received an at least grandiose resurrection in the marriage of the second Ptolema; er with his sister - here it was degraded to the realm of the Teichines. Those phallic, mischievous, earthy, dark da; mones , according to legend, killed their own mother and drove her to her death.
Caracalla died as he had lived; he died his own death. He was on his way to offer sacrifice to a god of his maternal ancestors. At the very moment when he had performed his need and had withdrawn the guard , he was struck by the raking sword. Unhappy as he had been, he passed away. There is a depiction of Septimius Severus' entire house, he himself with his wife and so; hnen - a painted tondo, made for public display. After it was

found, it turned out that CaracaUa's picture was smeared with filth^); the wickedness had taken its on the wicked man.
1) Antiquity 1936, Pl. 10-11; vevgVßHA., v. Hei. 13, 7; 14, 2.
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Juliet was brought to the point where she only hated her son. It is said she did not him dead because she feared the loss of her own position. When he had fallen, she was held in honor as before. But her life had lost its meaning; she followed her son only a short time later.

3.
If Septimius' and his So; hne regiment was unthinkable without JuUa Domna, Syrian women ruled exclusively in the following period. When the Severan house seemed to have succumbed to the usurper Macrinus, one of these women the throne. With Maesa, the sister of Julia, a secondary dynasty emerged; she held the imperial throne for two full decades. -
Septimius' house was, in world-historical terms, the offspring of a union between Carthage and the Syrian Near East. The new branch of the Severan dynasty kept to itself. The daughters of Maesa were married to Syrians of knightly rank, for Septimius did not want this branch to become equally powerful. Nevertheless, the husband of the Soaemias had a brilliant career; under Caracalla, as the heyday of the knights dawned, the representation of the two highest A@ offices in the capital was in his hands. And what both men lacked in social standing was made up for by their renewed imprisonment in the motherland of the dynasty.
The Maesa line, like Julia Domna herself, came from the priestly house of Emesa. But while Septimius' wife had increasingly distanced herself from her origins in the course of her illustrious career, the connection had not yet been broken with the others. Emesa both their and spiritual home. It was still located in the fertile hinterland, not in the border region like Philippopolis or in the desert like Palmyra, both of which were still to emerge as home eastern rulers. Emesa meant the same thing then as it does today: it was one of the most fanatical cities in the whole of Syria^). The worship of the sun1) Cf. Avien, descript. 1086f.
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of God was the center and meaning of existence for this city. And while Julia had turned to the philosophy of the time, Maesa and her house were faithfully attached to the native Baal, who was a strong and zealous god like all those of his ilk. Maesa herself was the daughter of the sun priest Bassianus and had seen to it that the two grandsons held the same before they came to the throne. Elagabal still felt himself on the throne entirely as a servant and equal his god, and his mother Soaemias confirmed him in this.
It will remain an open question to what extent the activities to which the new emperor indulged were the result of his natural instincts, and to what extent they arose from his awareness of his own . Much of what aroused the moral of his contemporaries has its counterpart in the other cults of Syria. Elagabal

himself was no stranger to ecstatic states^). And this seems to show that he was not lacking in such impulses2). The planned self-emasculation^), which contrasts so strangely with Elagabal's debauchery, also contains a significant feature. "The Semite vacillates constantly between pleasure and asceticism" (E. T. Lawrence).
The imperial high priest gave his Baal various goddesses as wives. He had the Trojan PaUadion removed from the care of the Vestals for this purpose and taken to the temple of the Syrian god. However, the warlike Minerva was deemed unsuitable and replaced by the city goddess of Carthage. A@ hnHch Elagabal himself married and separated from various women one after the other. Among them was a Vestal: Elagabal may have viewed her relationship with the Roman Vesta in a similar way to his own with the god of Emesa.

In Rome, this was seen as nothing more than mockery of the re; gion and its most venerable institutions. But perhaps

- According to Dio 78, 38, 4, in the battle of Oeic^ Tivi (popa; he himself on the enemy; also the plan to emasculate himself, commonly referred to as holy frenzy, is included. Cf. also SHaIv. Hei. 7 2

^) bo also Cumont, RE. 5, 2222 , . i,
^) Dio 79, 11, 2.
15^
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In a second case, which likewise rise to the strongest offense, a religio; se conception is asserted. The emperor is said to have offered himself as a boy toy and taken money for it. Did the custom of sacred prostitution, which was in vogue in Syria^), provide the model here? Similar practices were also common in the service of the Virgin of Heaven of Carthage, whom Elagabal had given to his god as his wife. Almost two centuries later, St. Augustine left a drastic description. The virgin , he said, had been shown things that even a married woman have brought home as new knowledge.
Elagabal a female role in all of this, and not only here. Again, this role is rooted in the cultic. As a priest in Emesa, he was beautiful to look at with his precious diadem, the robe of purple and gold, under which he wore long pants of the same material in the oriental style. The flowers of youth, a delicate and feminine education went hand in hand with this; he was compared to the young Dionysus. As emperor he appeared in

Chinese silk to dance to the sound of tambourine and flo; te in a circle of Syrian women at the altar of his god. His face was made up, he wore necklaces and delicate robes in the manner of a woman, and he seemed to have completely shed his masculine nature; he was only forced to put on the toga.
Today's stone, the image of the god of Emesa, was conical in shape and had signs on its black outer that were interpreted as a representation of the sun^). A@ hnu; cke have come to light in neighboring Syrian cities; dating from earlier centuries, they remained in use until Roman times^). They also show a

representation of the sun, but this time combined with that of the moon. The connection between the masculine and the feminine principle, which the sacred marriage of the

- Cf. F. Cumont, Die oriental. Relig. im ro; m. Paganism^

108 (admittedly without identifying myself with C.'s religious-historical derivation).

- The archa; ological evidence in F. Studniczka, Ro; m. Mitt. 16, 274f.
- G. Ploix deRotrou, Le musee national d^Alep, Catalogue sommaire 51, no. 38/39. The motif transposed into antique form in G. Jacopi, Esplor. e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia 30; tav. XXX fig. 124, 126.

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The connection between the Syrian sun god and the Carthaginian goddess of the moon is there transferred to the sun god himself. Should Elagabal's behavior, which united male and female, have been on similar ideas?
One must be to have raised the question. The decisive role of the female in Elagabal's relationship with his mother had a more direct effect.

The claim that Julia Maesa deliberately spread that Caracalla had helped his bases to become so; hnen at a young age was readily accepted by Soaemias. Once at the imperial court and appointed Augusta, she took part in all the debauchery without hesitation; the mother was worthy of the son, so they judged. But even before that, her tastes did not seem to have been wholesome. Gannys, Elagabal's tutor, was of low origin and had been brought up in the house of Maesa; nevertheless, Soaemias bestowed her favor on him and the understanding son thought at times of elevating the former pa; dagogue to Caesar, so that the mother marry him. But then the pupil's aversion won out, as he his teacher's insistent and uncomfortable advice. Elagabal himself struck the first blow against the man who had raised him, who had won him the hearts of the soldiers, who had led him to victory and the throne. And who was his mother's lover.
For both mother and son were completely absorbed in each other; they were made for each other. She exerted her influence everywhere, accompanied her son to the senate and the barracks; but it was never said that she hindered the goings-on. Nothing happened without Soaemias' approval, but a moderating voice was needed, she failed. The Roman mockery of a women's senate in which Augusta presided. While Elagabal was alienating all hearts and doom was at the door, they were discussing the toilet, greetings and hierarchy. There had been no iniquity of female life that had not been decided upon.

The emperor continued to live his overindulgent life. His , the comrades of his debauchery, went about everything for him.

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fimgen. Dancers, actors, charioteers, hairdressers - if they themselves in the orgies of this court, they were to the highest positions. Until finally the open

revolt of the capital's garrison was added to the secret outrage of the senate and the people.
In a desperate situation, Soaemias had already fought her son once. When the ranks broke in the battle against Macrinus, she had joined her mother in confronting the fleeing soldiers. Now, as the soldiers were about to leave Elagabal and go over to Mamaea's son, Soaemias was back at her post. The astonishing thing happened: the two cousins openly fought out their dispute in front of the pra; torians: in the middle of the barracks, in a na; tumultuary assembly, the emperorship was decided. It was left to the two to take the floor. And so they stood each other, talking and quarrelling; they argued for themselves and their sons about which of them would survive the night. When morning came, the last of Elagabal's left him. He died together with his mother, who clutched him to the last. The bodies were beheaded and dragged; hers was thrown 'somewhere', the son's body into the Tiber.
The open antagonism between Mamaea and Soaemias, which thus came to an end, was only recent. It began when Elagabal had to accept the slightly younger cousin as his son and thus as co-regent. However, this contrast was somehow inherent in the nature of the sisters. Mamaea and Soaemias are an unequal couple,

They are not unlike their cousins Caracalla and Geta. And yet they are reunited in a different way.
The talk of secret dealings with Caracalla also haunted Mamaea. But she herself, unlike the other, never made it her own. In general, she was a stranger to her older sister's life of lottery. But she was also a 'mother' and as such intervened deeply in her son's life. Mamaea Heß raised Alexander carefully; she tried to keep him away from vices. Teachers of all disciplines had to make sure that the
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Syrian prince a education. Together with the soldiers, the mother watched over the life of her Alexander as long as it was threatened by Elagabal; her own cupbearers and chosen with maternal care, looked after prisoner. As Augusta she did not appear in the senate, as Soaemias had done, but the fact that she was the true ruler was evident everywhere.
Mamaea led the regiment as long as the son was still immature, and she continued to lead it even after he had matured into a man and seized it himself. For this son never became himself. Shorn of his mother and grandmother from the beginning, he never to be. His love of peace shied from any warlike activity; every effort revealed his fragile health. Through gentle compliance and philanthropy, he hoped to give his reign the security that his had lacked.
Once again we see that the quest for security is, as it were, the primal instinct of all Syrian emperors. In this, mother and son met, only that the mother intended to achieve her goal by other means. Already Septimius

Severus had enormous resources to secure the future of his so; hne. But for this man, money was just one tool among others, Mamaea it was power and security par excellence. She had bribed the soldiers when it was necessary to

win them over for Alexander and against Elagabal. Having gained power, she heaped treasure upon treasure, claiming that they too should be given to the soldiers if the occasion arose. But the da; mon of possession, once awakened, would not let her go: she was no longer able to part with these treasures and held them . The whole world accused the empress mother of avarice, and her son was powerless to stop her.

Alongside Elagabal, Alexander is the prime example of a gynaecocratic regiment. And it is the tragedy of motherhood that is revealed a second time in Mamaea, following Julia Domna's fate as Jocasta. Absorbed in caring for her child, collecting everything, sacrificing, saving, if only she could win him rule or

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If the child is to be preserved, it leads the one so treated to ruin. For it is precisely the mother's actions, her actual motherly actions, that must work to the detriment of her son, unless he sets a limit to them of his own accord. Otherwise motherly love becomes short-sightedness, which is only able to see the most personal, most limited interests. And the constant striving for security leads to the opposite of what it intends.

But behind this motherly hebe, rooted in the deep layers of the female being, another da; monia stretches out, which refuses to allow a woman to take possession of the son's heart. The relationship between Mamaea and Alexander plays in those areas which

The Irish poet and outlined it with the words "so; hne and lover". This mother her first wife to her son and then, when the marriage was , it again through brutal intervention. The young woman's father, who did not the empress mother's arrogant behavior, was and she herself was banished to Africa. For Mamaea was full of the most excessive pride and wanted to be called Empress alone; she envied the other the title of Augusta, so it is said, and she envied her more.

Soaemias and Mamaea were both mothers with the best part of their nature, but they were no more than that. What the one spoiled by looking after her son's every need, the other spoiled by over-indulging and him. Both lacked human and even historical stature. The power of the Emesian house rested on other grounds. From the succession JuHa Maesa found in her fathers and grandchildren, her own nature stands out, which is not entirely distant from .

4.

Maesa's figure already foreshadowed the that were to emerge in Soaemias and Mamaea. The accumulation of money and possessions was already close to her heart, but unlike Mamaea, she knew how to use it.

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As the sister of Julia Domna, she had lived at the imperial court for a long time. She used her position to create a fortune for herself. Maesa's son-in-law, husband of Soaemias and father of Elagabal, was a man who was often employed in financial administration; he had to the funds the massive soldering campaign under Caracalla and was also the first to publicly declare the salaries he received in addition to his titles. . . One can guess how this

assets came about. But then came a turnaround. After Caracalla was murdered and her mother followed him to the grave, Maesa was ordered to leave by the new ruler. She went to her homeland and took her entire fortune with her; another La; titia Bonaparte, she thus paved the way for the resurgence of her house. But unlike the Corsican, she about this resurgence herself.

In Emesa, Maesa lived with her relatives. It was unbearable her, who had tasted power, to forced into the life of a subject; it was no less unbearable for her than for her sister Jidia. But while the former empress renounced and faded away, Maesa did not allow herself to put aside without further ado. She might have observed with secret pleasure the abuses of Macrinus, which alienated the hearts of the soldiers from him: his soft way of life, his enjoyment of theater and games, his neglect of , his unsoldierly dress. Soon Maesa came out with an open attack.

There was a legion near Emesa, destined to keep the restless priestly city in obedience; it became the first target of Maesa'plans. As often as the soldiers entered the city, they saw Maesa's grandson Elagabal in the glory of his high priesthood. His youth and , his appearance won him the heart of the common man. It was the protective relatives of her house who served in the legion that the Haute Syrian first heard about this alleged descent from CaracaUa. She hoped for the old attachment of the soldiers to the emperor, who was still on everyone's lips, and she was not mistaken. Skillful helpers gave her a hand, and the offer of her treasure did the rest.

One night, Maesa and her men appeared at the troops' camp. Everything was prepared, the soldiers proclaimed Elagabal emperor and fight for his rule. The news spread quickly: the dislike of Macrinus, the memory of Caracalla's rich donations and the money of the Maesa herself gave their party rapid support. Macrinus paid little heed to the matter; he sent his garde pra; fect Jidianus and troops to the revolt in Emesa. They were shown Elagabal from the top the walls; they heard that he was in fact Caracalla's offspring and his youthful portrait was erected to prove Elagabal's descent through his resemblance. The soldiers then lost the desire to . They soon turned against Julianus; they cut off his head and sent it to Macrinus.

In the decisive battle before Antiocheia, Macrinus once again seemed to be in luck. The ranks of the pra; tendents began to waver. Maesa and Soaemias got down from the chariot; their pleas and promises succeeded in bringing the fugitives to a halt. The battle was decided by the cowardly flight of Macrinus himself. With his beard taken off and disguised as a monumentarian, he tried to escape, but on the run he met his fate, as did his son Diadumenianus, who was on his way to the Parthians.

Maesa reached her goal. But at height of success, everything seemed to be called into question once again. The women tried to steer Elagabal as best they could, but not even Maesa's objections could prevail against his scandalous activities and his extravagance. It was of no consequence to Elagabal that Maesa, who was still fanatically devoted to the Emetic god in Rome, admonished her grandson to wear the priestly robe at official .

the toga. When she saw him make his exit with no less than sixty state coaches, she complained that he would ruin them all. She noticed how the emperor's insubordination grew; she sensed his coming end. Once again the spectre of a fall into subservience loomed before her.
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In this distress, she decided to do away with Elagabal and put the more fameless son of Mamaea in his place. She had only lived her own flesh and blood, and no decision could have been harder for her. But it was clear to her: the rotten GHed had to be cut off in order to save the rest of the body. With a flattering speech, she knew how to persuade Elagabal to accept his twelve-year-old cousin in his place and make him Caesar. He could then, she said, devote himself entirely to his priesthood and worship his god with orgies and sacred pleasures, while the administration of worldly affairs would fall to the other.
Maesa witnessed the spectacle that was her work: the elevation of Alexander; she also witnessed Elagabal's ignominious end. Nowhere is it said that she intervened in what was to come. Only when everything was over did she emerge again. As matter of course, she took over the leadership again; she did not resent the fact that they condemned the memory of the , that they spoke of him as a tyrant and a monster. For a new, happier reign seemed to have dawned, the rule of her house finally secured. The enjoyment of this reign cost her another four years; her downfall was brought about a favorable fate.
The death of Alexander Severus did not mark the end of the Oriental empire. After the interlude of Maximin and his opponents and successors, another

Syrians. However, in contrast to the Emesenian imperial family, Phihppus did not come from the landscape of the Orontes Valley. His homeland lay further to the southeast, at the foot of the Druze Mountains. This origin earned him the nickname of the 'Arab', under which he went down in history.
The Druze Mountains are of volcanic origin; they share the same landscape with the Hauran. The ancient Trachonitis belongs to the border areas that lead into the desert; it is continued in the stone inlets of western and central Arabia. Just as the Palmyrene desert flows directly into Damascus' gardens, so the lava valley already begins
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in the city's soft landscape. Its gray-black rock covers the fields and determines the appearance of the villages that are built from it. In the Druze Mountains, it clusters into wild, jagged masses, where it forms black-burnt peaks and domes. Philip's homeland was located in this desolate landscape, full of cruelty and ode. Its location is marked by today's Shebah.
Herod Agrippa had accused the inhabitants of this area of living like wild animals in their hiding places. Up to the present day, the Ra; uber Bedouins lived in the hollows of the Ledja, where they their prey. The ancient U@ tradition believed Philip's father was also a 'Ra; uber'. Nomad^) and highwayman, great owner and ruler, respected man and Ra; uber, merge into one another in this land^). The man may indeed have started out as an Arab sheikh, but like the entire neighborhood in the centuries of peace

became comfortable with urban life, just as the Jebel Druse was covered with permanent settlements and buildings, the former Bedouin chief had risen to become a member of the municipal aristocracy^). After his death, his son had a cult dedicated to him in their hometown.

Philip meant the same thing for the empire as the rise of the Palmyrene and Osrhoenian archery did for military history. Here, as there, the semi-barbaric frontiers of the desert separated the civilized interior of Syria. The du; stere peculiarity of the Trachonite landscape, its hardness and ruthlessness are communicated to the inhabitants. With a cold

- Also SHA., V, Aurel. 26 and 27, the latrones Syri are the Bedouins of the Palmyrene Wu; ste; cf. Aur. Vict., de Caes, 35, 3.
- E. T. Lawrence, Uprising in the Wu; ste (Dte. U@bers.) 209:

"I asked him his name; he replied Abdullah, called el Nahabi, the Ra; uber; the epithet, he said, he had inherited from his distinguished father." According to the story of Dios 75, 2, 4, Claudius, who made Judah and Syria unsafe with his horsemen, evidently considered himself equal to the emperor.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Berytus 2, 145, has shown by the example of Hauran that this could be done by election by the city to the city council.

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Philip strove for the throne without hesitation and ruthlessly won it.

His Gordianus III had come to the imperial in a special way. When the Senate set up two emperors of its own choice, Maximus and Balbinus, against the 'tyrant' Maximin, this was not to the liking of the capital city crowd. They wanted a scion from the imperial lineage and

greeted the high assembly and its candidates with a hail of stones and logs as they left the Capitoline temple. The newly elected tried in vain to prevail. They had to agree to accept the nephew of the same name of Gordianus I, who had died in Africa, as Caesar and successor, despite his immature age. Without questioned himself, the boy was carried up to the Capitol on the shoulders of the crowd, amid shouts of joy and a shower of flowers and . In the fall of the same year, 238, Glu; ck, who seemed to delight in the elevation of a will-less man, promoted Caesar to Augustus. The two senate emperors had victim to the brute will of the Pra; torians: they raised Gordianus

III. in place of the murdered. He ascended the throne at the age of thirteen.

Having been at an early age, the imperial boy was initially under the rule of his mother's . With the appointment of Timisitheus^) as guard prefect, a change occurred. This man had served two emperors as different as Alexander Severus and Maximin with devotion, had participated in the frugal financial administration under the first and the extortion of the provincials under the second. Under Gordian, he rose from procurator of the Lugdunian province to gardepra; fect. Although he had all the power in his hands, the man held before the final step. His attitude towards the boy remained as loyal as it had been towards the violent Pupienus. Timisitheus was content to give the emperor his own daughter in marriage. He was content actual power, which he wisely and

to the benefit of the ruler and the empire. 1) U@ on him most recently P. W. Townsend, Yale Class. stud. 4, 71 f.

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Timisitheus died in the midst of the successes of the Persian War. With his successor Philip, not only did the bearer of power change, but also the way in which it was . While the Persian campaign was still underway, he managed to rally the army against the young and experienced Gordianus III by deliberately making food scarce. As with Elagabal and Alexander, this time too the soldiers had to decide who should be emperor: the legitimate holder of the throne or the former subordinate who had set himself up as usurper. It turned out that the mood hostile to Gordianus. He is said to have asked that, if he was not wanted as Augustus, he should be kept as Caesar. Or that he should at least be given the position that his opponent Philip had held until then, that he should be given some military office. Finally, he asked for his bare life. Everything was denied him. Philip watched the scene, silent and seemingly uninvolved, but secretly directing everything through his aides. For a last moment he considered whether mercy should prevail, whether prudence would allow him to do so. Then another consideration gained the upper hand. He had the wailing man off, stripped of his imperial insignia and .
The new ruler^) did everything to wash away the stain that clung to his accession to the throne. He had the murdered predecessor solemnly buried and declared a god; he sought honor his memory everywhere. He accommodated the Senate, which hated the emperor, in every way. But neither the attitude he displayed, nor Philip's inherent military prowess, nor his splendid celebration of the centenary of Rome caused to be forgotten. With

One noticed with satisfaction how one's own son was upset that the father lacked dignity at this celebration^).
At that time, ill-temper and gloom had imprinted themselves even more deeply in the emperor's mind. This is how the show him: in addition to the unmistakable characteristics of his race, they are marked

- On the following E. Stein, RE. 10, 755 f.
- The same thing that Elagabal was accused of: SHA. v. Hei.

32, 7. 238
The face was characterized by the sharp wrinkle above the root of his nose, the angularly drawn brows, the grumpily protruding mouth. Slowly, he shed what he had adopted as an attitude: primal that were common to him and the other Orientals on the throne took their place. He had always shown himself inclined towards the Christians; Pope Fabianus was allowed to ceremoniously the mortal remains of his predecessor Pontianus from Sardinia to Rome. For Philip had grown up on the borders of the sacred land, and what all the cities there knew about must have been closer to his heart than the pomp of the national religion that unfolded at the celebration of Rome's thousandth birthday. Now the principles of the orientaHonal emperorship also emerged in the measures with which he intended to give his reign its missing support.

Mistrust and that primeval striving for security, these two recurring , determined his attitude.
Philip had always cultivated a relationship with his family and his homeland. He elevated Syrian cities such as Neapolis and Bostra to the rank of colony. The same happened to his birthplace, which was given the emperor's name. The new Phu; ippopolisi) rose in the middle of the

Drusen Mountains, at the foot of a volcanic cone that occupies one corner of the city. Built as a large quadrangle with two main streets intersecting at right angles, it stands out from the rest of the Hauran city. As a new imperial foundation, it was not modeled on the city's eastern style, but on that of the capital. It imitated it in the buildings and the palace, in the triple gate , in the masonry of the enormous barrel vaults. The tomb temple of PhiHppus' father, the "God Marinos", as his inscriptions say, took center stage; the tombs of the entire family were placed there. The imperial son, a hitherto honor, had father and eiast Bedouin sheikh 1) Puhl Amer, Arch. Exped. to Syria 1899-1900, Part II 376f. (H. W. Butler): ^^^l m w ^^^^Tl P^^^^i-^); Princeton Uni... Exped. IIA
* ;*.^^* , - ^^^^^^n E. Bru; nnow and A. v. Domaszewski, Die Provincia Arabia 3, 145f.
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to the god. Stairs and terraces led up to the funerary temple; behind it was the theater where the games were held in honor of the new deity.
The emperor's attachment to his own house was not to the monumental and religious sphere. Philip to his family when it to filling the decisive posts. He first entrusted his brother with the administration of an important border province, then entrusted him with the governorship of the entire East^). He his brother-in-law with the military supreme command in Macedonia and on the Inner Danube. Two of the great armies of the empire thus seemed to be secured by the sole reliable loyalty of related blood.

And yet it was precisely there that the uprising against Philip broke out. His brother's choice was anything but happy.
C. JuKus Priscus had been vice of A@ gypt before he ascended. Until his appointment, the times were reckoned to have begun with his economic decline^). The relentless fiscal pressure that soon set in in the East brought two usurpers onto the scene. They could not be and outlived the ruler against whom they rebelled by several years. The outrage of the Danubian legions seemed to have been more serious, as they killed the emperor of their choice shortly afterwards^). But it was here that Philip's fate was to be .
In order to call the unruly back to order and them against the Gothic enemy, the emperor sent one of his most reliable to the Danube border^). Decius himself came from the Illyrian lands; he knew the circumstances and warned his master of what come. He defeated the externalenemy and acted with severity against his own people. But they proclaimed him emperor and forced him to accept the throne by threatening him with death. Decius, the

- Rector Orientis: CIL. 3, 14149 Z. 5.
- Pap. Lond. Inv. 2565, lines 76 f. Cf. T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wegener, Journ, Egypt. Archeol. 21, 245.
- On the chronology of Pacatianus: H. D. M. Parker, op. O. 340 u. 11. *) H. Mattingly, Journ. Rom. stud. 1924, If. 240

PhiHppus, whose well-intentioned warnings had gone , turned to the imperial trust once again. One not worry, he wrote; as soon as he himself came to Rome, he would take off the badges of his unjust dignity.

Philip was not the man to inspire confidence; he believed himself to be better protected. He had long since concentrated troops to protect Italy. They were in the north-east: in Concordia, AquU@eia and elsewhere in fortified camps; they had not shied away. detachments of the two Dacian legions and thus this constantly threatened outpost of the empire. So the only way to decide was by force of arms. The ring that was supposed to protect ItaUen was quickly penetrated; even the numerical U@ superiority did not Phu; ippus. In the decisive battle at Verona, the last Syrian on the throne fell, bravely fighting in the front line.

This seemed to eliminate the regiment of the Orient in Rome and the empire. What came afterwards^) meant little. In Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus, a priest-king of Emesa was once again installed as pretender. Jotapianus, proclaimed emperor in Syria or Cappadocia, even claimed descent from Alexander the Great^). Both disappeared at the approach of Valerian. But the regiment of the East was to fade away in prouder to; nes. Once again, the homeland of the archers took over. And like JuHa Domna and Maesa, it was a ruling woman who emerged from the Syrian desert regions. With her, this land reached the pinnacle of its importance the history of the empire. Zenobia is the true antithesis of the great Empresses.

She was the wife of Odaenath, the lord of Palmyra. As early as the time of Commodus, a member of the Palmyrene aristocracy had risen to the rank of pra; torian pra; fect,

2\ f * ^^^5^^^ V- Staufifenberg, Die ro; m. Kaisergesch. with Malalas 372f.

) Aur. Victor, de Caes. 29, 2 Alexandri tumens Stirpe - course not Alexander Severus, for with him there was no peace to be made. On the descendants of Alexander in the East, see W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 302f.;

a long and official career as a knight. Septimius Vorodes also occupied an outstanding position, not only in his homeland itself, but also as imperial procurator of the province of Syria 262-267. Like all the great families of Palmyra, his had risen through caravan trade and he himself held a respected position in it; he also held priestly offices. In addition to his Roman name, he had a Parthian name, held a high Parthian title and had himself depicted in Parthian costume. Palmyra as a meeting point of cultures becomes clear from this figure.

Odaenathus also bore the Septimian name: this linked the beginning of the Oriental Empire with its last . He also held Roman and Eastern titles side by side. Until the end, he attached great importance to his affiliation with Rome; even when he called himself King of Kings, he did not think otherwise. After Valerian's capture seemed to have caused the collapse of rule over the East, he had taken up the fight against the victorious Sasanians on his own; with courage and luck he had fought an unequal battle. GalHenus practically recognized him as the administrator of the eastern half of the empire. As such, he even marched against the Goths who had invaded Asia Minor.

On the other hand, his way of life was reminiscent of Parthian models. A passionate warrior, he was an even more passionate : he did not away from the strongest lo; wen. He spent most of his life in the mountain of Lebanon, against sun and rain alike. While hunting, he eventually incurred the deadly enmity of his nephew, whose murderous hand was to strike him.

If another Ninos or Nimrod had arisen in Odaenathus, the great Semiramis seemed to have entered into Zenobia. Both lost their husbands at a young age and both felt strong enough to succeed him. Zenobia ruled in the name of her so; hne, but in truth she was mistress. This woman

With her 'eagle eyes' and her co; nigh , with her dark voice, you could tell that she was born to rule^).

She derived her lineage from Cleopatra. But unlike the Ptolemy, went hunting, was good on horseback and even better on foot; she knew how stand her ground when it came to drinking. She knew the value of money and knew how to keep it together, rarely giving more than she could afford from her . She spoke Greek better than the language of Rome. The great past of the Orient was constantly before her eyes; she is said to have tried her hand at an x4.outline of its history.

Like Julia Domna, she also attracted spiritual men into her circle. Cassius Longinus was her teacher and political advisor; as such he suffered death on AureUan's orders. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, was close to the Ko; nigia. And the sophist Kallinikos of Petrai seems to have dedicated his ten books of Alexandrian history to her.

Zenobia was also mother and queen in one. She is said to have only married her husband in order to propagate her own tribe. She gave her sons the Latin education that she herself lacked; she raised them to become future rulers, even over . For, like her husband, she no longer intended to be content with a co; ngency under Rome's suzerainty. When her generals had subjugated A@ gypt, she initially had struck showing the image of Aurelian on one side and that of her son Vaballath on the other. But then she took the decisive step: the image of Ro; mer remained off the coins, Zenobia and Vaballath carried the

^) One will, after the verdict of Mommsen (R. G. 5, 436 note 3) and others (A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 38, 134; A. Stein, Hermes 58, 454), find it that I have here and in the following utilized the data of the SHA. For me it is clear that behind what the previous view of Suetonian and post-Suetonian biography sees only as a rhetorical commonplace, the indiscriminate passing

on of fixed motifs, something like a biographical 'figure' emerges. Alfo; ldi's study has at least shown why the motif of the 'feminized' emperor was and had to be attached to Gallienus. Here, too, the source analysis admittedly did not to a definite result (A. Alfo; ldi, l.c. 174); it would have been more correct to ask about the underlying 'figure' instead of repeating the critical treated to the @ surprise.

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Augustus title. Now she ruled the Nile like her alleged progenitor, Cleopatra; she considered herself the successor of Ptolemy; he.

A legend of the Christian Syrians^) that Zenobia once had a huge tunnel driven through a mountain. The archangel of God appeared before her and asked her whose work this was. "Mine and my men's!" the self-confident replied, repeating the answer three times. Then the almost completed building as a sign that God's omnipotence was superior to human ingenuity.

It is like a parable of Zenobia's outcome. Realizing her ambitious dreams, she grabbed the gains that seemed to fall to her and broke. After barely a year of rule, her A@ gypt was lost again. The victorious opponents advanced as far as Palmyra. She left the besieged city on dromedaries, but was overtaken by the pursuers. Broken and , in the power of the enemy, she was no longer a weak woman. When she was brought to court, she blamed all those who advised her and led her to her actions. She thus saved her life, while the next of her , the philosopher Longinos, was put to death by Aurehan's executioner.

U@ The news about Zenobia's further fate is mixed. Some report that she marched in Aurehan's triumph. The women of Palmyrene used to parade in gold and jewels when they were still allowed to carry their heads high. There were diadems full of precious stones, gold-embroidered , clasps and bracelets; quadruple necklaces were not uncommon. All of this was imposed on the as a disgrace. and feet were in golden shackles, and a Persian jester

Zenobia walked along on a golden chain. The amount of jewelry and stones with which she was laden forced the strong woman to stop more than once because her could not bear the weight. Then she was given her life; she

1) Message from Georges J. Saad, to whom it was by the farmers of Lebanon.

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lived in Tibur and is said to have married her daughters into prestigious Roman families.

Zenobia succumbed to the same power to which Mamaea and Alexander had previously succumbed: the Donaula; ndian empire. With him we move into another world, from a feminine and oriental to the masculine world of the West and North.

5.

The countermovement began with the Illyrian legions. Not Alexander disregarded them. When he marched against the first Sasanians, he brought reinforfrom the Danube army with him to the Mesopotamian theater of war. They stood their ground there, but the losses of the campaign hit these bravest

particularly hard. In addition, Khma and Erna; rung up among them, and this above all determined the emperor to .
Alexander was not a soldier and did not want to be. Having grown up in the comfort of the capital, he only felt at ease again when he was surrounded by the luxury of Syrian Antiocheia. He was therefore incredibly that shortly afterwards the Germanic danger called him to the Rhine border. As this danger also threatened the Danube provinces, the Illyrian soldier accused the emperor of having neglected the northern borders for the sake of the east. Above all, however, the soft

The Pannonians, who were used to fighting, disliked Alexander's unwarlike nature, and "womanish duckma; user" and "cowardly ju; ngelchen" were heard from their ranks when they set about installing an emperor of their own choosing.
Maximinus was the man after her own heart. Coming from the Danube himself, half or wholly of barbarian descent, he embodied the masculine principle in its rawest and most natural form. In everything he was the antithesis of the Syrians and their regiment of women. In military service he had served his way up and therefore, as a comrade, he shared all the hardships and of the common man. And that was not all: he was himself
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shining example of personal bravery. His deeds were depicted in life-size pictures front of the Senate Curia: how he, sunk in the swamp up to the belly of his boss, nevertheless led the attack against the Germanic tribes hiding in the thicket and, by his example, the army to follow him in a dangerous way. He never visited Bom as emperor. He most comfortable in the midst of his army and where the danger of war surrounded him: on the Rhine or on his native Danube; he had his headquarters in Sirmium.
Extraordinary things were told about the strength of this man. How many opponents he had defeated, how much sweat he had shed in his exercises and how much meat and wine he had consumed as food. He pulled loaded trucks away. He crushed stones with fingers; he achieved almost unbelievable things while running. All these stories are unhistorical in their details. But they show how Maximin was reflected in the consciousness of his fellow world . A a; hnliche

The imperial throne had never seen such an appearance before.
Maximin's head alone is from another world. He is just as different from Caracalla, the
"ausonian beast", as of the boyish faces of the last Severans. What was the origin of this man? Due to his Donaula; ndian birthplace, he is attributed to the Illyrian emperors in the broader sense. He was raised by Pannonian friends; he himself had once led a Pannonian squadron and had the army under Septimus Severus when the military rise of the Donaula; nians began. He therefore seemed to be a member of this movement, its foremost and at the same time most advanced representative. The first lUyrian, it was thought, had ascended the throne in him.

The information from the ancient U@ tradition points in a different direction. According to one, Maximin came from Thrace and had barbarian blood in his veins^). The others knew more precise details. They also claimed he was born in a Thracian village. There he had joined the alliance of a Goth with an Alanian 1) Berod. 6, 8, 1.

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Both had immigrated from the countries north of the Danube. The Goths had therefore discovered a fellow tribesman in the future emperor, and the Alans exchanged gifts with him when he appeared on the Danube^).

Research has rejected the more extensive details^). They are said to be arbitrary invention, spun out of the more concise statement that Maximin was of barbarian descent. Even from general considerations^) this is unlikely. In addition, not only is the ancestry of Maximin's parents given more precisely, but their names are also mentioned.

become. The father's Micca is of the best Gothic origin: he

- SHA., V. Max. 1, 5f.; Jord., Get. 83; Rom. 281.
- In the following: Verf., Germanien 1938, 49f.

^) On the question: A, v. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen in den SHA. 22f.; Tt. Mommsen in the introduction to his Jordanes edition(MGf3r., awct. arat.5,1) p. XXXIX; E. Hohl, RE. 10, 855; M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 119; N. H. Bayues, The Hist. Aug. 22. It is admitted that the information in the first chapter of Maximinsvita is based on Herodian. The indication of origin is inserted; it also appears in Jordanes at the two places indicated. Get. 83 he refers to Symmachus in quinto suae historiae libro. This is not a bogus quotation, ^vie we take from the anecdoton Holderi (H. Usener, Festschr. z. Philologenvers. Wiesbaden 1877, 66f.; Th. Mommsen, a. O. XXXIXf.). There, seven books of Roman history are attributed to Symmachus, cons. ord. of the year 485. The question arises as to whether Symmachus (and thus indirectly Jordanes-Cassiodorus) merely drew his knowledge from the Maximinvita. The fact that the following Jordanes chapters Getica 84-88 are fed from the Maximinvita (as well as from Orosius 7, 18) seems to speak in favor of this; Mommsen has given the individual references in his edition. And yet some peculiarities remain. Get. 83 gives Maximin's origin and death according to Symmachus. Then 84f. begins again with the rise of Maximin and continues the account until his death. The indication that this also comes from Symmachus (Get. 88) is wrong; for what precedes it is taken from Orosius. It is thus clear that Maximin's brief but complete biography in 83, which undoubtedly comes from Symmachus, is followed in 84-88 by further information from other sources. It cannot be ruled out that they

are taken directly not only from Orosius, but also from the Maximinvita. If reference is made again to Symmachus at the end, it is only to refer to the beginning of the whole section 83. On the other hand, 83 shows many differences from Maximinvita 1, 5 f. The fact that Maximin comes from Gothia here and is called a Goth there may be a difference of linguistic expression. But in Symmachus, strangely enough, Maximin is already Caesar; he comes

from ex infimis parentibus; in the mother's name he gives the correct Ababa (cf. below p. 248 note 2) as opposed to Hababa in the Maximinvita. Thus, the possibility must be considered that the genuine Symmachus component 83 of the parallel message of the Maximinvita represents an independent transmission via . Whether Symmachus was conversely the source of the Vita remains undecided.

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can be explained as a diminutive of mikils 'great' and wax is formed with the help of an A: suffix^). Ababa, the Alanian mother, also fits perfectly into the Iranian-Scythian naming system of southern Russia^). Both cannot be invented: they point to genuine tradition.

Since Emperor Maximin was murdered in 238 at the age of 65, his birth was in 173, when the Goths were already on the borders of the empire. The Gothic runic inscription of Poiana cannot be dated later than 200, but probably one or two decades earlier^). The South Scandinavian and Eastern European mu; nts show that the people were contact with Rome at that time^). In the first century, Hermundurian slaves were already encountered south of the Danube, but also the

free Germanic Sealleo, who owned his own farm). He was probably a Quade, and square finds of the same period have been made south of the Danube. The Goth Aurgais, who lived married to a provincial Roman woman, is known from a third-century inscription in Capidava^). Maximin's Gothic father to this group. The Alanian mother also causes no difficulty. Alans are already attested on the Danube in the first and second centuries*^). The news that both parents belonged to the lowest class^) leaves open the possibility that they were once freemen.

- G. Trathnigg, Germanien 1939, 56 Addendum. There Mica is used instead of Micca; the second is given in SHA., v. Max. 1, 6 and Jord., Rom. 281 is consistent; Get. 83 is inconsistent. A. v. Domaszewski's assertion (l.c. 92) that Micca is Dacian is not by anything: e Gothia (v. Max. 1, 5) corresponds to a patre Gotho in Jordanes, i.e. it does not mean Dacia.
- "Aßaßoc;, father of the Orontes from Olbia: B. Latyschew, Inscr. Ponti Eux. 1, 135 no. 102; 136 no. 103; cf. the excellent comment by K. Mu; Uenhofif, Monatsber. Akad. Berlin 1866, 557 note 2; cf. also F. Justi, Iran. Namenbuch 1, which puts an end to A. v. Domaszewski's preference for Foim. Habaha.
- Above p. 81.

*) Cf. above p. 79f.

^) On the following R. Egger, Laureae Aquincenses 1, 147 f.

S. Gutenbrunner, Zeitschr. f. dt. Altert. 1938, 115f.; C. Daicoviciu informs me by letter that the inscription belongs to the last decades of the third, if not the fourth century. Fru; her seems to the approach of R. Vulpe: Hist. anc. de la Dobroudja 257f. Plin., nat, hist. 4, 80; SHA., v. Marci 22, 1; cf. v. Pii 5, 5.

8) Jord., Get. 83.

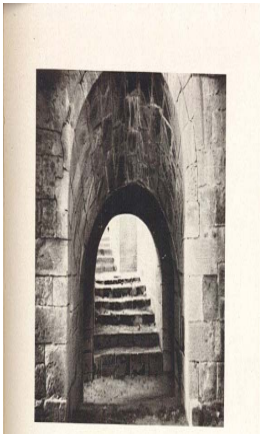

Abb. 56. Seitlicher Durchgang des Theaters, Philippopolis (S. 240).

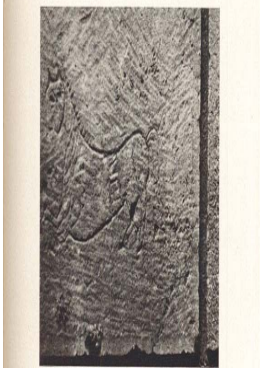

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Fig. 57 Incised drawing of a horse. Baptistery, Spalato (p. 173).

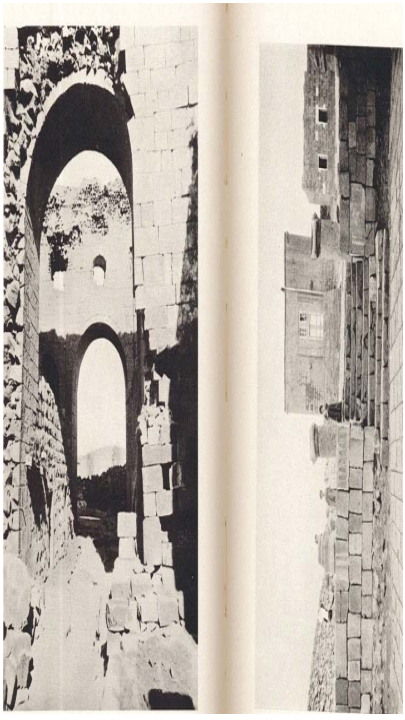

Fig. 58: Baths, Philippopolis (p. 239).

Abb. 60. Theater Philippopolis (S. 239).

Abb. 61. Ziziulibe, Emesa (S. 239).

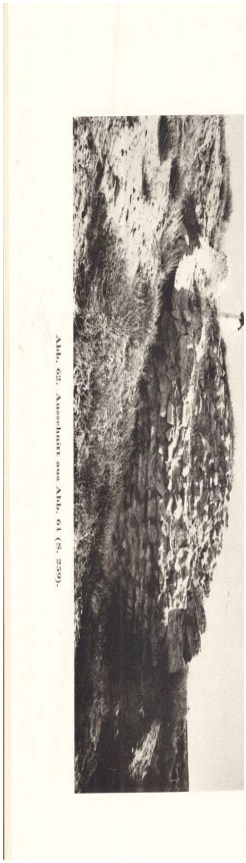

Abb. 62. Ausschnitt aus Abb. 61 (S. 259).

By Septimius Severus came up, withdrew
After the fall of the dynasty at the hands of Macrinus,
Maximin retired as

The landowner to his home village. He did not intend to serve the usurper. Ranke's human and historical perspicacity has this trait of a "unwo; hnlichen innere Ehrenhaftigkeit" not u; bersehen^). Here, a relationship of loyalty to the emperor isexpressed, whereby the emperor is understood to be a Germanic-style suitor.

There is no reason to deny Maximin's Gothic origins. He will have to be recognized as an emperor of Germanic blood. In the era of the soldier emperors, when the invasion of African, Syrian and Illyrian troops in the army was followed by corresponding emperors, the son of the Goth on the throne

corresponds to the military importance that the Germanic tribes had acquired. Maximin himself used free Germanic tribes in numbers within the army.
This Teutonism took its place on the throne with a vigorous and bristling power. It was not yet aware of its task: in its actions it followed only the impulses of its unborn nature. It never occurred to Maximin that, as emperor and general, he really had to lead a battle. He did not believe otherwise than that he to fight in the front line: he judged himself and others by the deeds he had accomplished with his own hand. Maximin appreciated war its own sake; in it he found his . He was loved by his soldiers and the inhabitants of the border provinces^) and admired by his opponents on the other side of the border. The mood of the population at home was different. He himself showed no understanding the peaceful citizen, and the latter repaid like with like.
Maximin's regiment weighed heavily on the propertied and educated classes. The emperor did nothing to win over their opinion. His noblest aspirations went there,

to know that the army was on his side. At the head of the armed forces, he believed he was immune to any resistance or uprising.
^) What RE. 10, 855 says to the contrary is null and void.
^) R. Vulpe a. O. 202, gives the inscriptional dedications from the Dobruja.

be. All money was intended for the soldiers from the outset; the means were ruthless when it came satisfying their needs. Contradictors were cruelly punished, and the sums that the emperor had earmarked as gifts for the troops were collected without mercy. neither private nor public property were spared, not even the votive gifts in the temples. Everything echoed with the complaints of the provincials. Even the soldiers, who had relatives and friends among the victims, thought it was time to show their .
At last the empo; ration broke out. In Africa, a procurator appointed by Maximin had gone over to expropriate the landed estates of large owners in order satisfy the demands of his imperial master. Some men from the families targeted by the measure armed their and farm workers, beat the official to death and offered the imperial crown to the proconsul of Africa, who resided in Thysdrus. Gordianus came from a noble family: his father was a descendant of the Gracchi and his mother was a relative of Emperor Trajan. The man's career as an official had been long and honorable. He was 81 years old when the offer of the highest dignity came to him. It was understandable that he hesitated: only threats of death made him

. Proclaimed emperor, he and his advanced against Carthage.
At first, the venture proved successful. An envoy sent to Rome managed to eliminate Maximin's garde pra; fects and thus win the capital for the uprising. The Senate immediately accepted Gordianus' appointment. It welcomed him and his son of the same name as emperor and declared the previous ruler an enemy of the state. All provinces with the exception of Pannonia, Dacia and

Spain sided with Gordianus. A program was announced in which the abolition of monetary gifts to the soldiers played an important role.
But while everything fell to the new masters, they themselves lost ground in Africa. Capellianus, Maximin's governor in 250
Numidia, refused to follow them. He was a dangerous opponent, for he was followed by the only available troops. The volunteer army led by the younger Gordianus crumbled before the feared Moorish cavalry. He himself fell in battle; his father committed suicide at the news.
Thus the revolt against Maximin, Sa; belregiment, hardly begun, already seemed to have failed. The peaceful had not possessed the strength to off the yoke. But the Senate was elected to continue the fight. While the two Gordians were still alive, it had appointed a committee of twenty men and entrusted them with the defense of ItaUen. A campaign of revenge was expected from the highly irritated Maximin, and they were not mistaken. The emperor had already decided to march to Italy on hearing of the African uprising. He had ordered the entire army assembled on the Danube to do so.

A storm surge seemed to break out against the cities and fields of Italy. Germanic horsemen formed the vanguard; battle-hardened and victory-hungry troops followed them. Maximin marched along like a Nordic army king.
On the other hand, they did not lose heart. The Senate chose the successors to the defunct emperors from the ranks of the Committee of Twenty. Two , Balbinus and Maximus, both from different social backgrounds, now bore the title of Augustus. But the people and the capital's military were not satisfied with this: at their request, Gordianus I's nephew, the third of the name, had to be accepted as Caesar by the other two.
Pupienus was given the task of raising an army against Maximin. The assembly point was the fortress of Ravenna, in the north-east, where the invasion was expected. In Italy itself, the army was formed by Germanic tribes who had joined Pupienus because of his previous governorship of the Rhine. It was hoped that they would a militarily equivalent force to the Illyrians and Germanic tribes on the other side.
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But the force of the onslaught did not break against it. The walls of fortified Aquileia, the bravery of its citizens and garrison^), the prudent measures taken by Menophilus and Crispinus, two other members of the Committee of Twenty^), formed an insurmountable obstacle. In desolate and exhausted country, tormented hunger, decimated by the attacks on the impregnable city, Maximin's own army rose up against him. Soldiers of the second Parthian

Legion, compatriots of the emperor and members of the guards, killed the emperor and his son, who was also in the camp. Concern for the fate of their wives and children, who had remained behind in the Albanum garrison near Rome, had driven them to take this step.
After Maximin's death, the army was ready to negotiate. Maximin's and his son's severed were put on pikes and displayed outside the walls of Aquileia as a testimony to what had happened. But the distrust of the was too great.

They first demanded that the soldiers homage to the hated emperors of the Senate - Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordianus - as a sign of their surrender. The images of the rulers were hung from the battlements of Aquileia, and so was this army: once confident of victory and now leaderless, despairing of itself . . . that it everything that was demanded.

This time the peaceful population seemed to have triumphed over the army. The heroism of an Italic citizenry and the determination of the senate had brought about the turnaround. This senate had taken up the fight against the tyrant, had appointed rulers of its own choosing, not unlike what had happened at Commodus' exit. Moreover, the Italic people were called upon to fight Maximin's barbarian army and, with the election of two emperors, the most honorable institutions of the

^) Herodian speaks only of the citizens (8, 2, 5; 4, 4-6), but the dedicatory inscription in G. Brusin, Gli scavi di Aquileia 73f. shows that there was at least an auxiliary formation in the city. H. Fuhrmann points out to me that there are numerous inscriptions of disbanded soldiers in Aquileia; the defense may also have found in these.

2) A. Stein, Hermes 1930, 229.

to republican Rome. The times of past greatness seemed to have returned. Just like the consuls of oldthe two Augusti stood by each other with equal rank. Both were entrusted with the dignity of Pontifex Maximus. The only difference was that one was assigned the administration, the other the of the war.

The Ro; mish being of yore had, one could believe, risen once again on Ro; mish soil. But was it really more than a semblance?

The victory of an order that consciously drew on ancient models was short-lived. The days of the senate emperors tended to be short: under Pertinax it was so and under Tacitus it was to be no different. Pupienus and Balbinus enjoyed 90 days of supreme dignity. Their unity was gone after Maximin's downfall. Both succumbed to the Illyrian guard, which had been returned to their Roman garrison. These , who could not forget the disgrace of Aquileia, forced their way into the palace, the emperors, dragged them through the streets and killed them.

He was succeeded by Gordianus III, the only U@ survivor of the catastrophe. He was a pawn in the hands more powerful men; in the end, he was eliminated by his guard, the 'Arab' Philip. With him, after the interlude of the senate emperors and the weakling Gordian, the East once again won the imperial throne. So what was behind the Senate's resistance to Maximin? And why did an Oriental emerge from the battle as the victor?

Maximin had been the man of the army. Since Septimius Severus, the Illyrian and Thracian peoples had held a dominant position in him .

The new

The Pra; torian Guard and the three 'Parthian' legions, which the emperor had raised, were largely recruited from the Donaiu; andes. At the same time, the barriers between enlisted men and officers were broken down: the new

military knighthood emerged from the veteran non-commissioned officers. Centurions and so; hne of such now wore the golden ring; the twofold clothing of the rank of primipile made it possible for everyone to be knightly pra; fect of a

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of the newly formed legions or to assume the governorship of the Mesopotamian province in the same capacity. At the moment when the previous barriers fell and new opportunities for advancement presented themselves, a promising path opened up for the Illyrian men and non-commissioned officers.

However, Septimius Severus' reign coincided with the revolt of the LUyrians within the mihta; rian career. The position of the Senate towards the IUyrian people was clearly different. Under Septimius Severus and Caracalla there was not a single Illyrian in the ranks of this body; even in the following period they only appeared very occasionally^). It was of other origins who made up the majority. Already in the course of the second century, the once ruling Italics had to give up part of their seats to a strong influx from the provinces, especially from the East. Under the first Severus they to a third, while senators from Syria, Asia Minor and the emperor's homeland Africa took their place. The Orientals had thus gained supremacy. The magnitude of the change can be seen from the fact that one member

of the despised people of A@ gypt for the first time the senatorial rank.

This relationship was also decisive for the subsequent period. Although the number of Italians seems to have increased under Alexander Severus, the Orientals and Africans together were still superior to them. Only from this point of view can the struggle of the Senate against Maximin be understood. The history of the struggle between the Emperor and the Senate is not the subject of a study that deals with the rise of new peoples and the effects of their opponents. But with the uprising of the Senate against Maximin, this struggle began to play out on the level of nationality and racial antagonism. It was an orientalized senate that rose up against the Danubian army and its emperor. A name like that of TuUius Menophilus clearly indicates origin from the eastern half of the empire.

^) Fundamental for the following: P. Lambrechts, La composition du s6nat Romain de Septime Siv^re a DiocUtien, especially 79f.

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The clash between the Lyrians and the Orientals had already emerged in military history. But there it was one among many: only in imperial history did it increase to the fundamental clarity of a power struggle between two opposing . In Alexander Severus, the Syrians were defeated. Now the struggle was renewed by other means.

From the beginning of his reign, Maximin had to the resistance of the Orientals. The Osrhoenian , Alexander Severus's own creation, had instigated a conspiracy against Maximin's life and installed one of their own as president.

The attempt had failed. Now the Senate itself took the lead.
It did not consist exclusively of Orientals. The two senate emperors as also members of the of the Commission of Twenty^) had emerged from the ranks of the Italian senators. But both nationalities were united in their opposition to Maximin. And even more: this reflected the particular form in which this senate launched uprising against the hated 'tyrant'.
This time they also used spiritual weapons. Ancient forms were invoked against the barbarian emperor. This was not surprising in the case of the Italic senators: the history of Rome and ItaUen, the ancient tradition of the Senate - everything suggested it. But the senators of Syrian, Asia Minor or African origin also came from urban and wealthy classes who were no strangers to Latin education. Through their careers in the civil service, the greatness of Rome and the empire stood above them as the dominant idea. They did not hesitate to make use of this idea in the fight against Maximin: they presented themselves as the appointed bearers and did so successfully. The oriented senate won its victory not as representatives of the East, but in the guise of a usurped Romanism.
A current of a consciously ro; mish character, a current of such strength that it took possession of the Orientals - it
1) L. Caesonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus; see A. Stein, op. cit. O. 230 and P. Lambrechts, op. O. 45 nr. 510.

cannot have come from nowhere. Its roots must be sought in a deeper layer.
6.
The victory of the East over antiquity and the West, especially at the end of the second and in the third century, is a common idea. One draws the picture of a Roman Hellenism in the embrace of the Orient. Its defining features the advance of the mysteries of Eastern origin, the emergence of religion, which was to triumph over all rivals . . . On the other hand, much less attention has been paid to the signs of a defense, a national reflection of Rome.
There is no doubt that a powerful wave threatened to wash away all the components of Roman religion. Under the impact of the plague and the of the late second century, people everywhere turned away from the ancient deities. In Bonn, the legionary legate himself, with the strong participation of the garrison, offered his worship to the Germanic mother goddesses^). In Dura, a tribune and his soldiers had themselves painted at the sacrifice to the Palmyrene gods. The new movement also found its way into Rome. The catacomb of the Aureans shows Christian and pagan elements in a strange combination on its murals; the tombs under S. Sebastiano, on the Appian Way, confirm and complement the picture. In Rome's harbor city of Ostia, besides Dionysian mysteries of eastern fa; rbimg, other things were in vogue that suggest the same origin. On a sarcophagus in the necropolis of the Isola Sacra one sees a priest of Cybele: adorned with the limp tails of the cut, with rings, bracelets and the prayer chain, like a woman^).

In the religion of the emperors and of the state, too, the implementation of eastern forms began. In the sanctuary of the altro; mi

- H. Lehner, Gnomon 8, 591; M. Siebourg, Bonn. Jahrb. 138, 103f.; F. Zucker, Abb. Berl. Ak. Wiss. 1937, 6, 23.
- G. Calza, Nsc. 1931, 511 f.; the latest dating to the time of the Tetrarchy in A. V. Gerkan and H. P. L'Orange, op. cit. O. 209.

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see Furrina on the other side of the Tiber, new deities had taken up residence and pushed the former owner into the background. At the outbreak of the Marcomannic War, Emperor Marcus had Oriental priests come to Rome and the city with their foreign rites. The Dolichenum on the Aventine bears the name of Commodus on an inscription. A group of Diana with the rescued Iphigenia and the sacrificed Hinde found there may be compared with the Copenhagen Iphigenia group in its reproach, but how different the structure and artistic form remain^)! With the of the frontal view, the replacement of the natural proportions of the figures with an ideal one, classical antiquity has been abandoned. The Goddess stretches out over the figures to her side at a mighty height; ancient forms, native to the East, begin to triumph in late Rome.

The peak of the movement was reached among the last Severans.

Caracalla erected a state temple to Serapis in Rome. Here the Alexandrian god was worshipped in a sanctuary modeled on an Egyptian temple from the New Kingdom; hierodules provided the cultic service. The new building, to which an enormous staircase up from the Field of Mars, was located on the

Slope of the quirinal . Since the times of Augustus, it had been an unbreakable rule that foreign cults of Egyptian and even origin were kept away from the area surrounding the sacred city limits of ancient Rome. The rule was broken for the first time with the founding of Caracalla.

Just as the emperor, it has been said, granted Roman citizenship to all Peregrines through the Constitutio Antoniniana, he also granted the Egyptian gods, and thus the foreign cults in general, the right of domicile in Rome. But was the emperor's will really only to tear down the borders of the national Rome, was it not aimed at a reorganization? Here, too, a great project, the 'Alexanderhaft% as

- O. Brendel, Arch. Anz. 1935 549f.

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He had a vision before his eyes, not unlike the enactment of his Constitutio or the colossal style of the Caracalla Baths^).

Two fundamental conceptions each other in the history of the empire from the beginning of autocracy. On the one hand, there was a Roman attitude that wanted to preserve the status of the ruling tribe over the subjects, the capital and Italy over the provinces. On the other side was the idea of a world empire in the Hellenistic style.

- or, as it was believed, in Alexander's way. It was not aimed at preserving what was special, but at finding oneself in a people. Conclusions were to be drawn from the common destiny of the Oikumene.

These opposites had already emerged in Hellenistic times. The great Alexander's plan was to merge the defeated Persians with his Macedonians to form a new nation; some even wanted to see in him the "father of all ". His immediate successors turned away from such actions. Their aim was to make the rule of the victors over the mass of the subjugated a permanent institution. Only the first Ptolemy took it upon himself to continue Alexander's endeavors in the field of religion. The god Serapis, whose cult he created with the help of the Greek Timotheos and the priest Manetho, was to unite Greek and Egyptian influences. He was to be the world god in whose worship both parts came together^). When Caracalla erected the quirinal temple to this Serapis, he must have believed that he was acting in the spirit of his role model Alexander.
Elagabal, supposedly Caracalla's bastard son, considered himself only a priest of Baal of Emesa, even after his accession to the throne. He had chosen his own name after Baal's name and his ambition was nothing less than to make his god a priest.

- J. Stroux, Philol. 1933, 284; F. Schulz, Principles of ro; m. Rechts 91.
- Therefore, the fragment of an Alexander romance (A. Vogliano, Pap. Univ. Milano 1, 184f.; U. Wilcken, Arch. f. Pap. 13, 129) has the address a prayer precisely to Serapis.

to make him master of Rome. Therefore, he was not satisfied to have him married to the Celestial Goddess of Carthage, but he had the most venerable shrines of the Roman religion: the Great Mother's stone, the

Sclu; lde of the Salians to bring the fire of Vesta into the temple of the new god.
Rome experienced strange sights back then. In Emesa, in a sanctuary adorned with gold, silver and precious stones, stood the stone of the god that had fallen from heaven. The temple was located on the castle, high above the towers and walls of the broad city^). From there, the stone was transported to Rome, where Elagabal built him a magnificent temple. One of the surviving capitals depicts the embodiment of the sacred stone with Minerva and the city goddess of Carthage in the picture^). Inside the sanctuary, Elagabal, together with his mother and grandmother, performed secret ceremonies which, according to the Syrian rite, offensive to Roman sensibilities. Foreign songs sung; stories were told of boy sacrifices and other things that had been done there^). At the public celebrations, hecatombs were offered on numerous altars, the and most precious wine was given; the emperor himself danced as a priest around the , accompanied by the choirs of Syrian women, their cymbals and timpani. Senators and knights had lined up around the circle. They formed the spectators of the strange event, while the holders of the military and civil offices dressed in Syrian costume, clad in white linen, lent a hand at the sacrifice.

- Avien, descr. 1082f. speaks of fastigia celsa. The explanation is given by the following: the city lies flat, but its towers rise to the sky. Then a further intensification in 1089: Libanus frondosa cacumina tollit, et tarnen his celsi certant fastigia templi. The conclusion that the sun temple stood on the castle, in the southwest of today's city, seems to me to be irrefutable. 1938 was this castle fu; r me from

military reasons. But you could see from the outside substructures and built into later walls the fragments of numerous . They are the remains of the sanctuary. That the Casaubonus etymology Ela; h-gabal, "god of the mountain" (Cumont, RE. 5, 2219f.; M. P. Nilsson, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 30,161) fits in with this is a not unimportant confirmation.

- F. Studniczka, Ro; m. Mitt. 16, 278.

2) These rites, which aroused the indignation of the Roman historians, were none other than those usual in the Syrian cults: Cumont, RE. 5, 2222.

Outside the city, a second shrine was erected to the Emesenian god^). At the height of summer each year, the emperor drove the sacred stone on a chariot to the rural residence. Six gleaming white horses pulled the , which no one was allowed to mount and no one was allowed to take hold of its handles. They were positioned around the sacred stone, for the god himself, it was believed, directed the journey. Elagabal strode ahead of the chariot, turned so as never to turn his face away from his master. The road was strewn with gold dust and the bodyguards made sure that the emperor did not fall as he walked .

In March 222, after a short reign, Elagabal was slain by the soldiers. The emperor's memory was erased and the symbol of his god was sent back home. His successor, Alexander Severus, dedicated the abandoned sanctuary of the oriental deity to the ra; ching Juppiter^). This alone shows the strength of the national-ro; mish reaction. Now it was preparing to take over the rule and Alexander was its

a useful tool. But the last Severan was only continuing the attitude that the first of his tribe had observed. He took up what had been practiced under Septimius Severus before Caracalla and Elagabal.

Septimius Severus was deeply attached to the Orient in a way that few rulers of Rome were. But wherever this manifested itself in the religious field - in astrology and magic, in beliefs in fate and mystical practices - it was kept the private sphere. This man, however few misgivings he otherwise knew, afraid to touch the religious of Rome.

On the triumphal arch that the emperor built in his North African hometown, he had not only warlike events depicted but also those of dynastic politics. The imperial family was the focus of attention everywhere^), as its importance distinguished the Severans from the adoptive emperors of the previous era.

^) Herod. 5, 6, 6; on this A. v. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen bei denSff-^. 152.

- D. F. Bro\vn, Amer. Journ. Arch. 1938, 129.
- P. W. Townsend, ibid. 1938, 515 f.

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Century. Above all, Augusta herself was present at the ceremonial acts: at her and the ruler's side were the senators and, standing alongside them on an equal footing, the representatives of the army on which Severus' rule was based.

Thus these reliefs from Leptis Magna are a faithful image of the Severan regiment. Alongside its earthly members appear the godly guarantors, whether they are present in the flesh or represented in their cult images. It is always a clearly defined circle: the gods of the Roman state cultsanctioned by the Augustan epoch. Nowhere do the powers of the

oriental religions or even those of Punic-African superstition^). This emperor, in whose veins flowed Phoinician blood and who came from a former Carthaginian city, did not even in his homeland decide to transgress the established area of the Roman state religion. He hardly dared to let Juppiter occasionally give his own attributions and Juno those of the empress^).

Such a conservative attitude can only be understood as conscious: as a deliberate persistence within boundaries. Even more so than in Severus' homeland, it had to come to the fore on the soil of Rome.

In 204, the second repetition of the Augustan secular celebration was celebrated. The rite of the older celebration, and the traditional forms of the cult in general, were adhered to with scrupulous precision. Not only was the structure of the celebration as a whole preserved, but the details of an antiquated ritual had also been retained. A prayer to Mother Earth could be heard with statues from the emperor's mouth, in which not only the increase of the empire in war and peace was implored, but also that the Latin obedience to Rome should preserved forever. The prayer, through which the Augustan celebration sought to legitimize itself as a continuation of an age-old tradition allegedly first performed in 456, which had already been established at that time.

^) Dionysus and Heracles, the two city of Leptis Magna (see P. W. Townsend, op. cit. O. 516; 518), will not included. 2)P. W. Townsend, op. O. 515.

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astonishing reflection altro; misclier states and altro; mian narrowness into an equally more spacious and glamorous present - it was maintained at a time when the empire had once again reached its greatest extent.

the face of such a continuation of the oldest U@ tradition, the innovations were once limited to a modified design of the circus and stage plays. But even there, a bit of the old ancestry had been preserved, such as the wooden theater from the times of Naevius and Plautus, perhaps the Troy play, which was traced back to the eastern ancestry of the Romans. A second group of innovations to the state area.

The 110 years of a saeculum were traditionally represented by the same number Roman matrons. This time only 109 appeared, for Augusta, Julia Domna, stood apart from them; only she completed the traditional number. The participation of the empress, and even her special position, was alien to the older period; the new emphasis on the dynastic was reflected in the fact that the youthful Caracalla in the cultic celebrations alongside his father. A further was that matrons of senatorial rank were joined by those of the new, military knighthood; even the wives of middle-ranking officers were not absent. Among the knightly matrons we encounter a name such as Julia Soaemias Bassiana, the mother of Elagabal . . .

This strong emphasis on ancient Roman forms, which only occasionally led to a more external innovation and never to one within the actual area, was not limited to the secular celebration. The inscribed records of one of the most distinguished priesthoods, the 'Ackerbru; der%, show increasing in our time. The details of the cult

Proceedings were recorded with minute accuracy; significantly, the ancient song of the brotherhood, which it sang year after year, already incomprehensible to its own members, was only then etched in stone. Here the same attention to the Roman ritual, the highlighting of its peculiarities and age, was expressed

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The simultaneous appearance of a Latin patristic literature, the vehemence with which a Tertullian also attacked Roman gods and the Roman cult, fits into this picture.

Caracalla's and Elagabal's appearances remained episodes, for Alexander Severus had nothing more urgent to do than return to his old ways. Although a Syrian and Elagabal's cousin, he Roman form. His attitude corresponded to the assiduous respect of the senate, which he exhibited: the members of the senatorial class represented the urban ro; mish priesthoods, were in general the bearers the consciously traditional .

The extent to which this attitude had an impact is illustrated by the newly discovered list of feasts of a cohort of Palmyrene archers stationed in Dura^). In the use of a military unit whose members were of Eastern origin, found in a place where the eastern provinces of Syria and Mesopotamia met with the newly founded Sasanian Empire, this calendar did not contain a single celebration in honor of an Oriental deity. Wherever the like was encountered in Duja, it remained in the private sphere. Among the official festivals, only those of Roman origin or those of the imperial cult appear. But even there the Roman form was strictly observed, which demanded that only the deceased ruler should be honored with the name of the

God; in the case of living members of the imperial house, one limits oneself to the sacrifice to their genius.

In Alexander Severus himself, Syrian blood and flaunted were mixed in a special way. His inclination towards oriental religions enabled him to bear the title of Archisynagogue of the Jews^). On the other hand, he had no lack of

reverence the ancient Roman priesthood and the ancient Roman past. He described himself as

- The mention of the first wife of Alexander Severus shows that the fasts of Dura belong to the years 225-227. A more detailed explanation is given in my History of Roman religion 540 note 26.
- A. Mommigliano,-<4t/ie7iaeum 22 (1934) 151 f.; J. Gage,

Melanges F. Cumont 159 note 2.
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Priests of the eternal Roma depicted on the coins^). The renunciation of Elagabal's activities should be emphasized in every way.
By worshipping the eternal Roma, the emperor was following a path that Septimius Severus had also trodden before him and which Philippus Arabs would subsequently tread with far greater vigor. Once again, the strength of the national reaction forced itself on a born Oriental. His personal inclination may have gone in a different direction; Philip was said to be a follower of Christ, and at least he showed him liberal toleration. As head of state, however, he bowed to demands; the "Arab" was given the task of organizing the magnificent millennial celebration of the city of Rome in 248^).

The event had a powerful effect on the world around us and the time that followed. Under the pressure of a burdening present, people turned to what was to come; they seized the future with power and it with their hopes. The celebration of the festival referred less to the past millennium than to the millennium to come; a new seculum seemed to have dawned, one that equally greater and more far-reaching than that glorified in the previous secular celebrations. The worship of God; ttin Roma, which was to the Hadrianic temple next to the Holy Road, now expanded to include belief in eternal Rome and its ever-recurring renewal. A hundred years later, this secular celebration could be said to have been the only true one, in contrast to the Republican and Augustan ones. Rome became a holy city even before Christianity.
This was the when the Orientals withdrew and a barely interrupted series of Illyrian emperors came to the throne with Decius. The idea of Rome immediately entered a new and decisive stage.

- J. Vogt, Die Alexandr. Mu; nzen 185f.; J. Gage, op. cit. O. 159f. On the following: J. Gage, op. cit. O. 169f.

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7.
The on the Danube border, from which the Illyrian emperors originated, have always had a tendency towards genuine , in addition to preserving their Volscian nature. Early on, the Roman-Italian culture gained a foothold. Aquileia had penetrated the middle Danube region with its trade since the second century BC. The pioneers of this development, great trading houses such as the Barber family, had also brought cultural goods into the country on a large scale. This opened up willingly, all the more so as spa; ter Emona became the second trading center.

was added. A contemporary and one-time officer of Tiberius that the Pannonians were open to Latin culture and education. And whereas in Tacitus' time "Pannonian" still to the native Illyrian dialect, in later times it was taken for granted that such a Pannonian spoke Latin^). The provincial art widely adopted materials of Roman content, including those that were from ancient history.

This was the case with Noricum, the two Pannonian provinces and above all Dalmatia, where Roman influence was even older, back to the years before the Hannibalic War. The situation was different on the lower Danube, i.e. in the Moesian provinces. The Thracian region had always been the domain of Greek culture. Latin was slow to gain a foothold, especially as large stretches of the border were occupied by Auxilia. It was a decisive turning point that the newly won Dacia, although inhabited by relatives of the Thracians, opted Roman rather than Greek culture after its introduction into the imperial body. This change was decisive for the attitude of the entire Danubian territories. In Dacia they sought to be Roman, and the facts speak for the fact that they consciously wanted to be.

This country, too, was dedicated to the Greeks.

- V. Aurelius 24, 3.

turned^). The currency of the two great Macedonians, Philip II and Alexander, was also popular there; it and the silver coins of Thasos were imitated many times. The coins of Histria on the Black Sea,

showing the sea eagle on a dolphin on the reverse side, were widespread as far as Siebenbu; rgen. The large Dacian castles of Costeschti and Gradischtea, south of the Muresch in the Retezat Mountains, built their stone in the Greek style of the fourth century. With the Roman occupation, everything changed. They had long and desperately resisted it; now they willingly surrendered to the superior culture.

Almost all inscriptions in Dacia are in Latin. Greek is negligible; despite the large number of Oriental troops, only two Palmyrene language are known. The worship of Oriental deities was in vogue everywhere at that time; in Dacia, however, it amounted to only one fifth, the dedications to Ro; mergo; tter to the full half of all preserved^). Everywhere one encounters the image of the Wo; lfin with the twins she sowed; even today it surprises, into the wall of a farmhouse, when visiting a seven-bu; rgian village. The capital was Sarmizegetusa. The Augustals there were by a man who belonged to one of the oldest Latin cults as a priest^). The monumental tomb of the Aurelii, east of the city, imitated Italian forms^). The House of the Augustals and the Forum^) together formed two connected by an axial order and separated by a transverse basilica, which look like an eastern imitation of the Roman Trajan's Forum.

The beginnings of a Roman form were therefore present in the Illyrian-Danubian area. From the very beginning, the Illyrian emperors joined the renewal movement.

^) To the following: C. Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans Vantiquite 19f.; 26f.;

M. Macrea, An. Inst. Stud. Clas., Cluj 2, 176f.; D. M. Teodorescu, An. Com. Ist., Transilv. 1929, 298; 1930/31, 67. 2) C. Daicoviciu, op. O.
64f.; An. Inst. Stud. Clas. Cluj 2, 68. 2) C. Daicoviciu, Dada 1,
242 f.
C. Daicoviciu and O. Floca, Sargetia 1, If. ^) C. Daicoviciu, Sarmizegetusa
379 f.
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The Sibyllines, who confronted them on the soil of religious Rome. A solemn interrogation of the Sibyllines is reported of Claudius before he left for the Gothic war. At that time he is said to have consecrated his own life to death in order to the demand of fate.) The days of the Decians, it was noted, seemed to have been restored. Old Roman heroism, which willingly sacrificed its own life the victory and salvation of the state, celebrated its renewal in this lUyrier^). With the same emperor began a series of mu; nzpra; gungen, which were dedicated to forms of eternal Roma; it reached its under Probus. In addition, the Wo; lfin with the twins Romulus and Remus emerged as a pra; ctice, the eternity of the city by referring to its origin.
This peculiarity of Illyrian Romanism needs to be explained. On the one hand, it lies in the strength and, if one may say so, the indestructibility of the Roman; mish thought. Originally connected with a particular people, it began to become one of the great spiritual forms that their own existence. These forms are subject to a different law than that of the organic, which alone knows emergence, maturation and decay. Once they have become something permanent, they are a reminder to always grasp and penetrate anew, and at the same time a standard and model for our own practices

of the times to come. In this sense, the idea and its political expression, the empire, won over the Lyrans.
On the other hand, the nature of these Lyrians must not be . In contrast to the Syrians, they were Indo-Germanic: neighbors of the Italics in terms of language, ancestry and geographical location, some of them living on Italic soil. They had a different attitude to Romanism than the Severans and their descendants. They did not seek to use Roman forms, as the orientalized senate had done in the

- Aur. Victor, de Caes. 34, 3-7; epit. 34, 3-4; on this A. v. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen in den SHA. 11 f.
- Aur. Victor, de Caes. 34, 2.

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They did not need to emphasize their respect for the Roman religion, as Septimius Severus and then again Alexander had done. Rather, these LUyrians were able to really appropriate certain aspects of . Thus they not only met it, but seized it and felt themselves to be its . They progressed from merely preserving the old ro; mish to their own decisive creation.
8.
This closest connection between the Roman idea and LUyrianism did not take place immediately. The question of destiny, which had arisen in the past of the

Danube countries, was repeated in the history of the emperors who had sent these countries to the throne. Just as at the beginning of their historical emergence the question of whether Greece or Rome put to them for decision, so

also Claudius, Aurelian and Probus. Once again, Hellenism came before them, claiming to provide a solution to the difficulties that plagued the empire and the ancient world.

Gallienus had been a controversial figure since antiquity. According to his ancestry, he did not belong to the Illyrians - on the contrary: he was by them. And yet it is impossible to imagine the history of his Illyrian successors without his influence. For he laid the military foundations that made it possible to rebuild the empire. And spiritually, he forced them to make the big decisions.

While all previous emperors had clear origins, Gallienus was a different story. The lineage of his father Valerian is unknown. Accordingly, both father and son were never pra; tendents of one of the great frontier armies that were divorced from the Vatican. Valerian raised the Rhine army, and yet he could not be considered the representative of the Germanic legions. For he was particularly supported by the crews of an African legion that had been disbanded by Gordianus III and reduced to Roman troops.

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was distributed among the troops. The Rhine army fell away from Valerian's son and successor with Postumus' elevation.

A@ similar situation prevailed with Gallienus himself. He protected the Rhine with British detachments, fought the Moorish legions with Moorish cavalry and the Germanic army that had fallen away with mobile formations from the Danube. Neither his auxiliary forces nor his goal can be understood from regional premises. He was a representative of the central power. In the storms to break the empire into its volcanic components, to be attacked by the enemies on the Danube.

Although the border seemed to be flooded, he held together what he could. He created an army of his own, personally devoted to him, which had a unique character and thus expressed the unity of the empire.

In addition to the struggle for the territorial preservation of the empire, there was also a struggle for its spiritual foundations. The reawakened idea of Rome, which even Orientals such as Alexander Severus and Philip could not escape, was a step in this direction. Gallienus kept his eye on the goal, but took a different road. The decisive point was the relationship with Christianity. His stubbornly refused to make sacrifices to the gods of the state and the godlike person of the emperor. Because of their small numbers, the Christians had mostly been left unmolested in earlier times, but now their numbers had grown. Under Decius the time of toleration was over: the Christians were tracked down and the sacrifice to the gods was demanded of them.

It seems as if the opposition to his Philip had provided the impetus for Decius' hostile attitude^). The 'Arab' relied on the Moors, but also on the East and the eastern troops. He had made his brother the pre; fect of the Mesopotamian

border province, from which the best came; he then elevated him to the position of administrator of the entire Orient. Christianity had a deep foothold there and the Osrhoenian regiments may have had many a follower of the new faith in their ranks. In neighboring Dura, 1) On the following A. Alfo; ldi, KHo 1938, 328.

south of the Euphrates, there had been a Christian church since 232^). Conversely, Decius based his rule on the strength of the Illyrian provinces. And they were little by Christianity.

Another and more important motivation was added. The documents that were issued to the Christians, insofar as they had fallen away and offered the sacrifice, spoke of recognition of the gods. The emperor had not made any explicit declaration^). And yet he must have been included. For a long time the image of the emperor stood in the sanctuaries next to the state gods, the sacred emblems of the troops. This emperor as earthly savior and redeemer was countered by Christianity's heavenly counter-image with a higher claim. The struggle of the new religion for recognition became a struggle against the sovereignty and omnipotence of the state, which was embodied in the emperor^). The attitude that found drastic expression in the tombstone of Elia Afanasia^) could arise from such an attitude. The public flogging, a humiliating punishment and doubly humiliating a woman, became a title of fame because it was suffered through confession of faith. It was the great event in the life of the deceased.

Gallienus broke with the previous procedure. While Valerian had followed in his predecessor's footsteps, his son stopped the persecution. Gallienus' first decree has not been preserved. But after the defeat of Macrianus and Aemilianus, he extended the measure to this country in a rescript to the Egyptian bishops. Everywhere the confiscated property was to the Christian communities and they were the right to assemble. For Gallienus's intention was to stop the fight

- The literature now in M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its art 149 note 56.
- Pap. Ox. 4, 658; 12, 464; on the question most recently Wittig, RE. 15, 1279f.; H. Mattingly, Journ. Rom. stud. 1924, 9f.; A. Alfo; ldi, a. O. 334.
- I do not believe in the interpretation that A. Alfo; ldi (Uantiq. class. 1938,15) tries to give to certain representations of the catacomb of S. Sebastian©, I do not believe. The Christian origin is unproven. I am therefore in agreement with H. Fuhrmann, with whom I was able to discuss the issue.

*) E. Fuhrmann, Atti Pont. Acad. Arch. III 4 (1938), 137f. o;) Euseb., hist. eccl. 7, 13; A. Alfo; ldi, op. O. 343.

against Christianity not by force, but with spiritual weapons. He did not to Romanism and the Roman gods, who did not seem to offer him such weapons.

The allies of this emperor and forerunner of the apostate were Greek philosophy and the Eleusinian mysteries^).
Gallienus the example of Hadrian and the Antonines. Like the latter, was archont of Athens and intended to end his days as a member of the Areopagus; like Marcus, he was initiated into the mysteries. But he only took up the Hellenizing aspirations. Antoninus Pius^) had attempted a renewal of the ancient Roman faith, which on from the efforts of Augustus. At that time, the revival of the ancient and philhellenism were not mutually exclusive; instead, people everywhere to old cult and legends. The archaism of the second century was devoted to both with equal love. The subsequent period had loosened these ties between Hellas and Rome; since Gallienus the separation has been there.

Eleusis was the emperor's most distinguished ally. The priesthood there, represented by its large , had long since forged an alliance with philosophy. This resulted in a close connection with Plotinus and his school. The latter had already begun the battle; Porphyrios had written a pamphlet against the Christians and the revelation of Zoroaster^), and Plotinus himself had written a pamphlet against the Gnostics. Gallienus stepped into this existing relationship: he wanted to put Plotinus' PlatonopoHs into practice in Campania; he had the master's writings collected.
Plotinus has been called a mystic. Certainly wrongly, from a misunderstood concept of what mysticism is. Plotinus is Greek in his innermost essence and thus as far removed from all mysticism as . But in one respect the
^) For the following see A. Alfo; ldi, 25 Jahre Rom.-Germ. commiss. 18f. 2) Paul L. Strack, Unters, z. ro; m. Reichspra; g. d.
2nd cent. 3, 67f. ^) Porph., V. Plot. 16 In addition J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les mages hellenises 1, 156; 2, 249 f.

In this speech, we learn from the mystic Plotinus, albeit unintentionally, something of his essence. In that he seems to be above the temporal, especially above his own time. One might think that Plotinus was accidentally transported to this third century.
However, relationships to time and the present do not arise from the fact that one inserts oneself into them or even merges with them. The contrast to the hustle and bustle that takes place everywhere, that forward and seeks to dominate everything else, is a historical power whose rank can hardly be overestimated. Plotinus must have been seized by this knowledge, it must have shaped him,

so that he was able to enter the realm whose essence is not becoming and changing, but being, not movement and noise, but stillness, not success, but .
As a loner, he seems to stand in his own time. And yet perhaps it will be her vindication when she, like others of her ilk, steps before the chair of her judge. This time was with deeds and action. In Plotinus a counter-image arises and before the world of the spirit, the only one that is autonomous, this humanity

of action seems to flutter like a web. Before the distant, , indestructible world of the spirit, everything else is futility and death.

Death is, of course, also the realm of Plotinian thought. But death here does not mean: appearance, transience and decay, but the remoteness and greatness death of Apollonian knowledge. It could be that for a man who has spent his life researching and thinking about things, everything that has hitherto appeared to him as a work of study, as a shadowy groping and searching more than a recognition - that these fragments into a whole, the senseless into the meaningful, the contradictory into unity. The foundation of the world illuminates itself to him in a single, brief flash. All this could be so, and yet there would be no one could bear this moment and the magnitude of this sight. For the deepest realization remains unrepeatable: it is a realization of the

Fig. 63 Female tombbu; ste. Palmyra (p. 244).

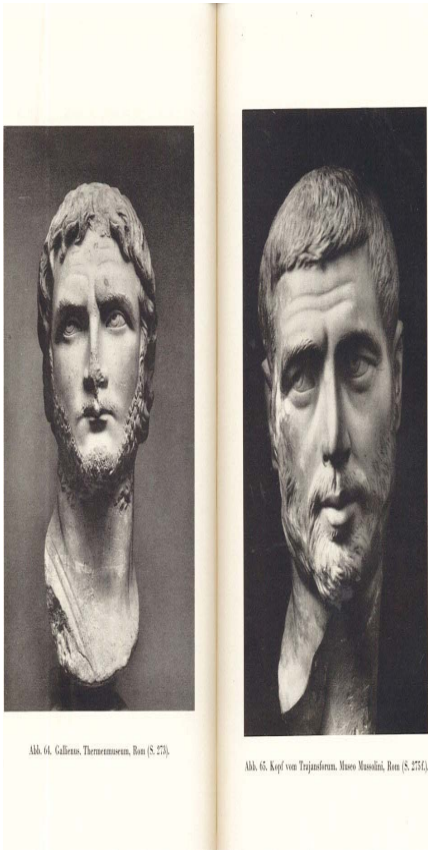

Abb. 64. Gallienus. Thermenmuseum, Rom (S. 273).

Abb. 65. Kopf von Trajansforum. Museo Mussolini, Rom (S. 273f.)

Abb. 66. Relief vom Belltempel, Palmyra (S. 202).

Death. But above all other things that the work of man and therefore perishable, it has the advantage that it is

Eye has just looked in the eyebrow as she has received the stigma of her .
Plotinus is Apollo, his last gleam in history. And like Apollo always, he does not mean understanding here either. He remains distant and sublime, who does not want to condescend to human activity, nor does he want to order it and govern it sensibly. Rather, God allows it to emerge in its , in its , in what is disguised and recorded about it; he tears open the gulf that separates God's being from human activity. But especially in a century like ours, it is of no; ten that this gulf be torn open, so that what is mortal and what is eternal, what possesses greatness and what does not, may emerge.
Gallienus was also Greek by nature, whatever his origins may have been. He was capable of understanding Plotinus' world, but he himself was of a

different kind. This man with the faintheartedness, with the upward-looking gaze, lacked the Apollonian of the other. He had himself depicted on his coins as Galliena Augusta^ i.e. as a female deity at the same time^). And female essence was attributed to him, by sources, by the spa; tere UberHeferung. The feminine belonged to Gallienus just as it to the youthful Dionysus. The god who saw the depths of madness and drew his strength from such a vision.
The decisive experiences of this emperor were the catastrophe of his father, who was the first and only emperor to fall into enemy hands, the loss of the Rhine frontier, the of the Donaula; nder, the apostasy of Postumus xmdPalmyra, the death of his son at the hands of the enemy. Rarely have similar blows befallen a ruler; nothing is more important to this man, who was sensitive and

whose fine excitability had to feel every blow with double force - nothing was spared him. But this 'feminine' character rose after every blow with 1) A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 38, 156f.

double power. He also had the invaluable power to create and heal that is inherent in the true woman. Only his destiny as a cunning man made this man great.
GaUienus turned away from his father, who had degraded the Roman name in the East to a god. He never made an attempt to avenge him or to release him from captivity. When he seized sole power, he introduced a new annual reckoning that deliberately stood out from the years of the joint reign of father and son^). GaUienus and his entire house have discarded the name Valerianus^). Not for a moment did he despair of the unity of the empire. He was not lacking in means and attacks; in talent he was superior to all usurpers and often a brilliant victory rewarded his efforts. He tried to make up for the loss of his two older sons by doubling his hopes, which he transferred to the third^). Often, misfortune seemed to have completely the emperor, he seemed to have sunk into a life of pleasure. Again and again he would rise , more vigorously than before. Even in his last campaign, against the fittest of his genera; lions, who had fallen away from him and betrayed him to Postumus, he showed his fighting . Without covering his back, he reacted to the news that the enemy had left the besieged

Milan had failed, to the battlefield, thus giving the mo; rders the opportunity to carry out their plan.
Greeks have never been defeatists. GaUienus must have believed in his star to the very end. The mysteries into which he was initiated gave him the promise of life after death: they meant hope, they meant belief in the salvation of the individual mystic, since the god himself had also been saved. Above all, however, in this man, who participated the founding of Plotinus' ideal community, the belief in an afterlife must have been born.

^) A. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 9, 258; cf. 25 years ro; m.-germ. commiss. 17f.

- A. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 9, 264f.; Wickert RE. 13, 351f.
- A. Alfo; ldi, l. O. 267.

order, a best state and the possibility of its realization. GaUienus' coins show that he wanted to be a new Augustus, healing the world and ushering in a new era of happiness^). Emblems alluding to a coming golden age still appear on the prayers of the last years, from the time of new and most severe strokes of fate. They move in an imaginary world that is of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue^).

9.

For the LUyrians succeeded GaUienus, this was a foreign world. They were separated from the representatives of a Hellenic rebirth by a deep gulf. Like the idea of Rome, Greekness had also been from its Greek foundation. As a liberated spiritual form, it could be adopted by others. But most followers of Plotinus

- Porphyrios, Longinos, Kallinikos and others - to the Syrian race^). In Syria, the union of the

philosophers, driven apart by the persecution of the Senate after Galhenus' death, sought to reunite. In Zenobia they hoped to find a of support and an intellectual center at her court. Longinos became one of the leaders of Palmyrene great power politics. As Zenobia's advisor, he suffered death: it was the Lyrian AureUan who this sentence.

A rebirth of art went hand in hand with GalHenus' religio; s-phu; osophical endeavors. Once again, the sensuality of Hellenic man stood out, the enjoyment of form and beautiful beauty. A male head from Trajan's Forum, belonging to this time , shows a virtuosity in the treatment of the that cannot be surpassed. The silence of the mouth, the sian contrast of skin and hair, the gaze directed into the distance - a world of spiritualized material

- A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 38, 197f.
- A. Alfo; ldi, Numism. Chron. 9, 270f.
- A. Alfo; ldi, 25 years ro; m.-germ. commiss. 29f.

has banished the gaze. This, too, went with Gallienus. A du; stereous, bordering on joyless grandeur began; in the portraits and of the Illyrians up to Diocletian it speaks to us more forcibly than winningly.

Claudius, AureHan and Probus - they were different from the philosophers and artists around GaUienus. They differed just as much from GaUienus himself. They were less sensitive and excitable, also less ingenious. But they were strong-minded and active will natures, similar to the Romans of old. They

understood that war was henceforth the law of historical life and that the dream of a Greek rebirth had come to an end. "With his hand on the sword" was Aurelian's slogan. In his last years, Probus thought of the return of eternal

peace: he spoke of the abolition of military service and the manufacture of weapons, of the bull going before the plow again and the horse being returned to peaceful activity . . . But these were far more contrary and simpler ideas than Gallienus had cherished. And Probus' own outcome refuted his images of the future in the most tangible way.

His Illyrian officers had followed the general GaUienus as long as they could. But they may have viewed his Hellenism with unwilling disapproval. Having reached power themselves , they followed what IUyrian tradition. They wanted to be nothing other than : in war and state leadership just as much as in their behavior towards the gods, which was inseparable for the Roman view.

Ro; mer was never interested in constructing his world as an ideal, free from historical circumstances and following the norms of a guiding reason or morality. His inclination was to take what had already been modeled for him by nature or by a human order and was, even more meaningful and more clearly. He was compelled to see such phenomena, which had developed under certain circumstances, as obligatory and to put his energy into shaping them from the outside. An already existing 276
order, a direction given in the past should emerge clearly.

Above all, the instructions given by the gods to the responsible leaders of the state at the decisive moments were decisive the Ro; mer. According to the Roman view, these instructions the community from the very beginning. The Romans prided themselves on being more open them than other peoples. The combination of divine guidance and human listening to what the heavenly powers had ordained was regarded by the Romans as the real cause of their . Everywhere they felt themselves to be 's instrument and under His protection. This awareness gave them their unwavering security, the of their historical calling^).

Aurelian was not aloof from these matters. In the most difficult situation, before the invasion of the Juthungen in Italy, he ordered the questioning of the Sibylline sayings^). The same attitude explains the introduction of the sun god, the most momentous innovation that took hold within the religion during the third century.

The restoration of the empire was the goal that AureUan had set himself. The great past of Rome, the unity of the oikumene and the human race, which were illuminated by a sun - they all seemed to point the emperor imperiously to his task. Above all, this sun itself seemed to the unity of the empire. Greek and Roman worshippers of ApoUon could come together in the cult of the deity with the worshippers of Mithras or Elagabal^). The emperor himself believed himself to be guided by this sun god in all his actions and successes. his soldiers revolted, he openly declared that he owed his rule not to them, but to his godly lord and leader*). On

^) Altheim-Mattingly, A history of Roman religion 411 f.
2) SHA., V. Aur. 18, 4f.
^) Note from H. Mattingly.

*) Petr. patr. in Dio ed. Boissev. III 747 nr. 178; the texts by H. D. M. Parker (l.c. 209) are disproved by the mu; nus pictures.
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coins from Ticinum and Serdica^) show how the loyalty of the troops to the sun god as their leader by virtue of divine providence. On other embossments, the bust of this sun god can be seen above the emperor and the goddess Concordia: thus the god is the guarantor of unity, which works for the blessing of the empire. He is also the power that regained the lost East for the empire^); if Aurelian brought unity and peace to the world, he was the executive organ of the god who guided him^). The sun therefore appears on the coins of Serdica^) as the lord of the empire, and as its earthly representative the emperor directed the history of the empire and the world^).
If Elagabal had felt himself to be a human embodiment of the god of the same name, AureHan may not been far from such thoughts either. Some coins refer to him as "God" or as "Lord and God" like the sun itself. However, it remained the case that these legends only appeared outside Rome, that they remained within a limited area^). Otherwise Aurelian respected the view that denied a living being the character. And if he transgressed it once, as in the mentioned, he was not concerned with a cultic-sacral claim. Even the designation as "Lord and God" merely brought the

The will to create that inspired the unifier and founder of the empire.
In everything, the testimony of the mu; nzpra; gung*^) is clear and uniform at the same time. reforms should not be thought of merely as political expediency, with Aurelian as little as with Augustus. No one worships a god of their own making. The significance of the new sun god is already by the fact that Con

- P. H. Webb, Rom. Imp. coin. 5, 1, 281 no. 152; 297 no. 284.
- P. H. Webb, op. cit. O. 307 no. 374-5 et al.
- P. H. Webb, op. cit. O. 265 No. 4 and 6. P. H. Webb, op. cit. op. cit. 301 no. 319f.

5) A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 1924, 202f.
^) This was no different under Probus and Carus: P. H. Webb, l.c. O. 5, 2, 109 no. 841f.; 145 no. 96f.; in addition F.
Vittinghoff, Gnomon 1938, 200 note 1.) Here I am indebted to H. Mattingly manifold references.
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stantin, before he made the decisive turn, adhered to him and intended to the idea of his empire on him^). A man of Aurelian's absolute determination must have been seized by the greatness of his task - to such an extent that it seemed to him to arise from the innermost nature of the situation, that he felt it to be a good command. And because the introduction of the god, whom he perceived as the guarantor of his work, as the guarantor of Rome's and the Empire's eternity, was so completely ro; mish in nature, the new cult itself also bears the unmistakable traits of a ro; mish form. A@ outwardly viewed from the outside, grasped Aurelian on Elagab as a failed

enterprise . The Syrian sun god made his entrance into Rome once again. This time the Baal of Emesa did not take up residence on the Palatine Hill, but on the slopes of the Quirinais. But that is

The extent of what connected the Aurelian Sol with the Syrian deity already revealed.

Certainly the gesture of the raised right hand, which is characteristic of the depictions of Sol, ultimately belongs to Eastern rite2). But there is no evidence of it in Emesa^). And he is not only found in Syria, but also in Asia Minor and on Alexandrian coins. In Rome it already appears on the prayers of the first Severans, even before Elagabal; again, nothing points to a connection with Emesa.

But even if Aurelian's time could still sense origin in the gesture, under the foreign exterior lay a ro; mish content. Once before, in the last years of the Hannibalic War, Rome had managed to curtail the extravagant forms of an Asiatic cult and had lent it a reflection of Roman dignity and integrity. The Greeks were amazed at the ceremonies in honor of the Great Mother on the Palatine: they could not admire their measure and purity enough when they compared them to the original cult of Asia Minor.

- H. P. L'Orange, Symb. Osl. 14, 86f.; lOlf. A. v. Gerkan and H.

P. L'Orange, op. cit. op. cit. 57f.; 126f.; 138f. et al.

- H. P. L'Orange, Symb. Osl. 14, 89f.
- H. P. L'Orange, op. cit. O. 95 shows it

clearly. 279

The same Roman form made use of the Emesenian sun god in order to penetrate and transform him^). Emesa was a conquered city, so it is unlikely that the local priesthood was involved in its . Aurelian's god was given a state temple and a state cult, while Elagabal had built his on private imperial property^). The image of the

Bei from the conquered Palmyra was placed in the temple, but not to mark the origin, but as a booty ; the sun god and Bei were precisely distinguished^). The cult of the sacred stone was absent; the orgiastic celebrations with which Elagabal once celebrated his god were also missing. The service was not performed by Syrians, but by senators. They were equal to the pontifices and, like them, formed a Roman college of priests; as pontifices solis, they stood alongside the older ones, who were now called pontifices vestae. Nothing is said about marriages with goddesses of Rome or other ; this new sun god was without a wife and without offspring, as the Roman state , first and foremost the Capitoline Juppiter, had always been. The elementary relationship to the blooming and dying of nature, which Elagabal had his god lead out to the city in solemn procession at midsummer, was completely absent: the new lord was an abstract, spiritual-political symbol, in this too equal to the Capitoline Juppiter.

The immigrating Latins brought with them from their Nordic homeland a number of solar concepts - the annual and solar circle, the swastika, images of the course of the sun. This was shown by the rock carvings of the Val Camonica^). Man is reminded of this , when a city's own pra; tice of Licinius shows the swastika next to the Aurelian Sol^). And early Rome already had a cult of the sun god. In the a; lth calendar,

^) These sentences had already been written when the view

A. D. Nocks, Havard Theol. Rev. 1939, 95; it was a valuable confirmation for me.

- L. Homo, Essai sur le regne de Vempereur Aurelien 191.
- Zosim. 1, 61, 2; H. Seyrig, Syria 1933, 245.

F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, Wo; rter und Sachen 1938, 12f.

- Th. Bieder, Germania 1939, 130 f.

the writing of which back to the sixth century BC, the god was referred to as the "progenitor". A series of relationships linked him to the Vesta: it therefore seems like a revival of the ancient^) when Aurelian had his Pontifices Solis confront the old college as the Pontifices Vestae. The emperor's own name also referred to the ancient cult, which had been practiced by the Aurelian dynasty since ancient times. AujreHan was then in a position to regard Sol as his own progenitor^). And, which is hardly less to say, to regard himself as a link between the old Roman god and the new he had introduced^).

Elagabal was not only accused of having introduced a foreign god into Rome under a foreign name: he had even wanted to place him in front of Juppiter^). All other were to be servants of the Emesenian god; their rank was to be graded like an oriental court ceremonial^). A later period even believed that Elagabal's Baal was to become the only deity for Rome and the empire^).

How did Aurelian conceive of the position of his Sol? It was to be expected that he occupied a special rank, that he had to occupy it. A new find allows us to venture a guess as to how the sun god stood alongside the older gods.

It is a work of Syrian minor art that is being presented for the first time: a diadem made of thin sheet gold, allegedly found in Laodicea and dating the third century. The center of the diadem is by a depiction of the sun god beneath a triangular pediment decorated with an egg and dart motif. It is seen from the front; around the head of the

Wreath of rays, below the four-in-hand, two horses each turned to the right and left"^).

^) C. Koch, Gestimverehrung im alten Italien 100f.; 104. 2) C. Koch, l. c. O. 104.

2) SHA., V. Aur. 4, 2: Aurelian's mother as sun priestess, but in the emperor's donaula; ndian homeland. Dio 79, 11, 2.

^) SHA.^ V. Hei. 7, 4. In addition F. Boll hei A. v. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen bei SHA. 152. D.'s view that by "alle Go; ttern" the lapides divi mentioned below were meant, finds no in the text.

- SHA. v. Hei. 3, 4; 6, 7.

') Aleppo, in the local art trade. Length 0.23 m; height 0.021 m; the piece is torn on the right, otherwise undamaged.
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This type of image was widespread in spa; tantine art. Not so in Syria, where the sun were depicted in eastern forms. The coins show the sacred stones, the eagle^) or both together^). In Palmyra, Jarhibol and Malakhbel appear as armed warriors^). Emesa had its stone and other places their Baityloi, on which the sun and moon were carved^). In HierapoHs-Bambyke they worshipped a sun god who was equated with Apollo. He was bear-like, wore armor like the Palmyrene and had the kalathos on his head; Macrobius described the cult image with all its attributes and interpreted it in his own way^). Next to it are invocations to the sun god, on which two raised hands can be seen^).
The depiction of the diadem originates from a different area; it must have entered Syria from outside^). The Mu; nzsta; tte Serdica has given form to Aurelian's religious imagination with particular emphasis.

conferred. The sun god as ruler of the empire and patron of the emperor, the latter as the representative and earthly image of his heavenly leader, recur on the coins in changing forms. Sol also appears on them in the front view, with an aureole and quatrefoil^) - an expression that occupies a special position among Aurelian's other series of coins. The correspondence with the diadem goes right down to the details. The Syrian goldsmith who made it must have taken this as a model.
The goldsmith has combined an odoriental@ tion with spa; tantic design, transforming the face from the soft left turn of the muzzle into a strict frontal position. A be^) F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes 57 f.

- Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Mattingly, I was able to look through the holdings of the London Museum.
- H. Seyrig, Syria 1932, 190f.

*) A. V. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen bei den SHA. 153 and above p. 228.
Sat, 1, 17, 66f. 6) F. Cumont, Syria 1933, 385 f.
^) F. Cumont confirmed to me verbally that he had received similar from Syria. is not known. ") P. H. Webb, op. O. 5, 1, 301 no. 321-322. 282
The tonimg of the central axis was thus self-evident; it is evident in the formation of the radial crown and the knu; ping of the robe. The details are also schematized in other respects, but the model shines through everywhere. The lowest part of the mascot no longer has a counterpart because the size of the gold stripe did not allow it. An of the back of the diadem shows that the goldsmith's stamp gave more: it leaves the traces of the raised

You can just make out the front legs of the sun rose at the lower edge.
This Syrian depiction was intended to represent none other than the new Aurean sun god. This seems to give the work of private art a significance that further. This is confirmed when one takes a closer look at the other parts. On

either side of the sun god, who occupies the center of the diadem, rows of standing god figures appear. Together, they all formed a single stamp containing the ancient row of two gods; a distinction is made between Apollo, Mars, Venus, Neptune and others. Of course, the goldsmith did not succeed in the complete row on either side. There are only fragments each case, but the underlying facts are unmistakable^).

In addition to these two; lfgo; ttern, the Aurelian Sol meant the thirteenth. This "thirteenth god" is a fixed fact of ancient religion, especially of the ancient cult of rulers^). In addition to the canonical series of the Olympian , there is the regent or the regent close to the . Philip II of Macedon had his own image carried in as the thirteenth in solemn pomp; Virgil had celebrated Augustus in this way in the proo; mium of his Georgica; Hadrian had been depicted in this way in Cyzicus. Finally, Alexander Severus was added to the Olympian circle as the thirteenth god after his death.

^) On the left half you can see the remains of eleven Go; tter figures, i.e. almost the entire row. On the right, the numbers 2-9 are repeated in the same sequence. Only fractions are pressed into the side , depending on the space available.

^) The evidence in O. Weinreich, Lykische Zwo; lfgo; tterreliefs 7f.; Triskaidekad. stud. 3f.

fu; gt^). The Lycian two; lfgo; tter stones with the image of the emperor in the middle date back to the end of the third century.

The Aurelian sun god appears in this special place on the diadem, and that makes perfect sense. This god was the ruler of the terrestrial sphere and the ruler's heavenly commissioner; he was, as it were, the exponent of the empire, as Aurelian understood it. This did not imply any towards the other gods. It did, however, clearly indicate a connection with empire and world domination. It was this that gave the new deity its unique position. It is a strange process that this inconspicuous diadem us to see into. The sun god Elagabal had retained his Syrian nature in Rome; he was and remained the foreign deity from Emesa. Aurelian's Sol also came from the same place. But conversely, he had abandoned his ancestral character and had become a Ro; mer in Rome.

in Rome. Now recognize we realize that the new creation also began to gain a foothold in Syria itself; it entered with the eastern representations of the sun god there.

This influence of the Roman god on the East is not isolated. When, after the second conquest of Palmyra, the temple of the sun god there fell victim to the rapacity of the troops, Aurelian had it restored and rededicated. But not from the neighboring Emesa , but through a of the Roman pontifices^). The fact that he was appointed by the Senate was also significant. For it was here that the religious-political significance of this co; rperschaft, which had always, like the emperor himself, ordered, prohibited and

had commandingly intervened in the life of the cults, their continuation^).

^) Joh. Chrysost., in ep. II ad Cor. hom. 26, 4 (Migne, Patrol. Graeca LXI 580); also the interpretation of O. Weinreich, Lyk. Zwo; lfgo; tterreliefs 12 note 11.

- SHA, V. Aur. 31, 9. By templum Solis 31, 7 the author must have meant the Beitempel (cf. Zos. 1, 61, 2), although Bei and the sun-god are originally by no means identical (H. Seyrig, Syria 1933, 244f.); only subsequently has the identification been made here and elsewhere (M. P. Nilsson, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 30, 160f.). If the message is found in an apocryphal letter of Aurelian, this does not mean that it is as such reliable; A. D. Nock, l. c. 95, also assesses it as genuine. O. 95 also judges it to be genuine.
- A. D. Nock, op. cit. O. 95.

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After all, the new sun god had his own myth, which, because it was Roman, had to be historical at the same time.

At Emesa, the Palmyrenians had fought a decisive battle. This city was, as it were, the gateway to their own. It was only four days' journey away. The strip of desert that lay as a barrier between Palmyra and the attackers was at worst here, even if it was inhospitable enough elsewhere^). Emesa was the headquarters of the Syrian sun god, to whom the Palmyrenians also dedicated their worship. It has already been said that they had erected a temple to him in their city. It was the most extensive and magnificent of all; the capitals were decorated with gilded bronze and a surrounded the sanctuary with wide and high halls. In the battle of Emesa, the sun god himself had to decide whether he was on the side of Aurelian or Zenobia.

When it came to battle, the Roman horsemen wavered and were already thinking of fleeing. Then a divine apparition appeared to the foot soldiers and warned them to persevere. The manly attitude of the legions also restored the attitude of the horsemen. The victor entered Emesa and recognized in the sun god there the apparition that had helped his own in battle. He built the Roman temple his honor.)

The unfavorable nature of tradition has preserved little personal information about Aurelian. In contrast to numerous details from the lives of Septimius Severus or Caracalla, Elagabal or Maesa, almost nothing is known about the greatest Lycian. And yet it is difficult for us to glean anything from the sporadic news. For today we know what it means to together a broken empire in just a few years, to create unity out of disunity. It meant a lot if

^) In September 1938, in the age of automobile traffic and constant monitoring of the roads, I came across a Rualla family between Homs and Palmyra who had died of thirst and received first aid from my companions.

2) Remains of its architecture in H. Kahler, Rom. Mitt. 52, 94f. The temple in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna, which imitates Syrian or Egyptian structures, probably belonged to Serapis: Platner-Ashby, Topogr. dict. of ancient Rome 491 f.; otherwise H. Ka; hler, l.c. 95. O. 95.

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have at least succeeded in grasping the man's main religious ideas.

GaUienus' miHta; ric reforms also gained decisive importance for the Illyrians who succeeded him on the throne.

Once again, the imperial field army he created must be remembered. It was not originally a permanent institution, but had arisen from the Emperor's precarious situation, who a counterweight against the constantly rebellious border armies. Everything took place in a unique form. These troops were attached to the brilliant of their emperor; it was the bond of loyalty that them to him and him alone. Gallienus celebrated this loyalty of his troops on his legionary coins; even after his death, this feeling broke out powerfully when the soldiers insisted on the death Aureolus.

Despite the personal ties, the army did not disappear with the death of its founder. It became the tool with which the empire was forged together. What is more, it created the emperors from itself, who completed this work. From a makeshift and personal creation, it had become an institution with which the empire collapsed. The solution of the moment was given permanence.

The prerequisite for this was another 'reform' of GaUienus. Septimius Severus had no longer command of his newly established legions to senators, but to officers from the knighthood. A@ hnHch measures had been taken by the emperor in the administration of the provinces. Under him and his successors, the procurator from the knighthood began to supplant the senatorial governor. GaUienus took a final step^). He deprived the members of the senate of the right to a mihta; ric command. In the future they could neither

office of legionary legate, nor were they, if 1)

P. Lambrechts, op. cit. op. cit. 96 f. 286

they were sent as governors to one of the imperial provinces, holders of mu; ita; rian power. At the head of the legion was a pra; fect who came from the military knighthood; with the senatorial legate, the tribune of senatorial origin also disappeared. And while in the case of the senatorial governor of an imperial province military and civil power were separated, in the case of the governor of knightly rank they remained united in one hand^).

Here too, as in his relationship with Christianity, GaUienus differed from his father. Valerian had been a member of the Senate before his elevation. He had one of those who had worked to forge an alliance between the Senate and the two Gordians who had prepared the uprising against Maximin. Valerian respected the position of the high corps by having his son elevated to Augustus not by the soldiers, but by a decision of the Senate. The exclusion of senators from any mu; ita; rial office meant a break with Valerian's policy, just as GaUienus had broken with it after the catastrophe of Edessa. The bronze award in the name of the Senate also stopped.

The edict's drastic measures did not come out of blue. Although the Senate was still the most representative body in Rome, it was based less on an original nature than on a developed of form and the overripe intelligence of a fine-nerved race that long been overawed. Such qualities guaranteed diplomatic suppleness, but no for thoroughgoing action; they called forth combinations and far-reaching designs, but never the

The realization of a new situation and the rapid it demanded. Real action was hardly to be expected from such circles.
In fact, the Senate had renounced this role after it had emerged for the last time at Maximin's fall. It was preparing to enter a new phase in its history of over a thousand years. As a social and educational power, as a rallying point for the values of a great) U@ over the senatorial provinces, see P. Lambrechts, lOOf. O. lOOf.
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He was to gain his own importance in the following century as the of the Rome idea. Supported by it, he was to lead the fight against the church allied with the empire . . . What emerged at that time, around the middle of the century, was first and foremost the renunciation of past forms. Only a small proportion of the members regularly the meetings. Many, especially the Orientals, took up residence outside ItaHen; others to the countryside, to their estates. The son-in-law of Emperor Marcus was able to stay away from the capital and the Senate unhindered throughout Commodus' reign^). The following period already distinguished between those senators who lived in Rome and those who lived permanently in the provinces^).
The senators were even less comfortable with military service. Septimius Severus accused them of cowardice: Commodus had at least been a good gladiator . . .^). At a time when everything was with , it must have been the most serious reproach if the senators considered the mu; hsal of the soldier's life to be filthy and unprepossessing^). It was generally ascribed to lasciviousness and

indecision of the Senate when it was deprived of its most important rights^).
With his decree, Gallienus also put an end to a development under , which had long set back. The secret opposition between the army and the senate, which had broken out into open battle under Maximin, was finally decided against the senate. Even then, the Orientals still seem to have held the majority^). Thus the blow was directed against them at the same time. Gallienus became the forerunner of Illyrianism, which ruled in the army and had nothing in common with the Senate. With Aurelian, the "pa; dagogue of the Senate"^), who was not afraid to a member of this co; rperschaft in triumph,

- Dio 73, 3.
- Paul, Dig. 50, 1, 22, 6; P. Lambrechts, a. 0. 95.) Dio 76, 8, 2 with drastic details.

*) Mamert., grat. act. 20, 1; A. Alfo; ldi, Uantiquite classique 7,
9. ^) Aur. Victor, de Caes. 37, 5. 6) P. Lambrechts, op. O. 80f.; 86f. ') SHA., V. Aur. 37, 2; cf. 50, 2.
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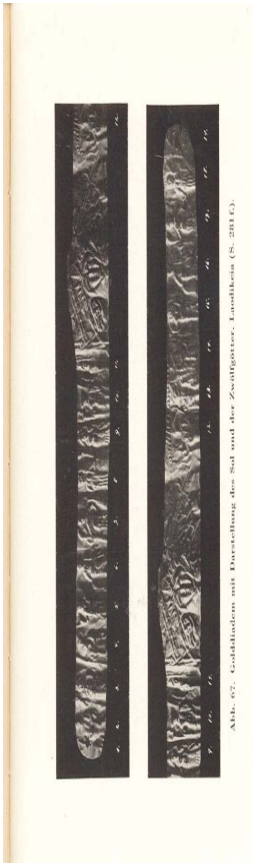

Fig. 68 Aurelian. Av. sol with four steeds (p. 282).

Fig. 69. rv. The emperor sacrificing (p. 282). 1

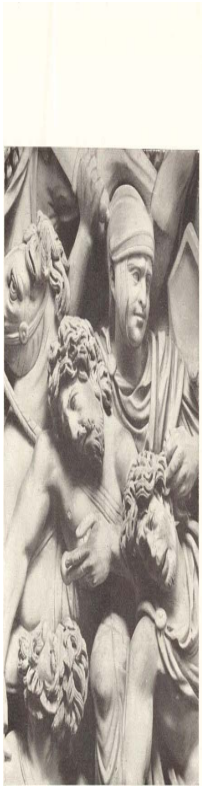

Fig. 71. Ludovisian sarcophagus (detail). Thermenmuseum, Rome (p. 289).
it reached the peak of its historical significance. On the part of the Senate, GaUienus' measure has given its author

This has resulted in the distortion of his image in historiography.
The Senate had once been a high school of poetic knowledge, knowledge of human nature and character formation. In the times of its splendor, it seemed to be unu; bbeerrefflich and it was. The expulsion of the senators from the army leadership forced them to look for a replacement. The non-commissioned officers of the military knighthood were available: they had to have passed the Primipilate twice in order to enter the higher ranks of command^). The new rank class of protectors was from them.

The title was bestowed on the new legionary and the tribunes of the capitals troops^). It expressed a personal of loyalty and allegiance to the emperor. A major work of contemporary art, the Ludovisian battle sarcophagus, illustrates what was meant. A battle with Germanic and eastern opponents: legionaries over the prostrate and prostrate enemies, finishing off those still defending themselves with blows and thrusts. In the center is the commander, in the hair and beard costume of Gaulish times^): his warhorse him over the bodies of the fighting men. Surrounding him on both sides are young officers, recognizable by the bows on their armour. They are the protectors, still in their original meaning: as the who stand by the emperor or his commander^). ^) M. Durry, Les cohortes pretoriennes 129 f.

- Custos sacri lateris Mart. 6, 76, 1 is U@ translation of auujuaToqpuXaS, hardly a fixed titulature. It proves nothing the pre-Gallic age of the institution.

- The earlier statement by G. Rodenwaldt (Arch. Jahrb. 1936, 90f.) was ju; ngst followed by H. U. V. Scho; nebeck, jRii;. arch. christ. 1937, 329. The sitter, although preserved on two portrait busts, is not yet recognized. He was not an emperor, but from CIL. 12, 2228 it can be seen that the protectors could also stand by the commander of a special corps. For the cross scar on his forehead, see G. Rodenwaldt, Ant. Denkm. 4, 63; F, J. Do; lger, Antike u. Christent. 1, 202 f.

*) Protectores divini lateris: A. Alfo; ldi, 25 years ro; m.-germ. comm. 42 note 18. In contrast, F. Wirth, Rom. Wandmal. 209, but the SHA. v. Carac. 7, 1 proves nothing protectores under Caracalla. Dio 78, 5, 2f., shows that Aurelius

Soon the title of protector was conferred on all centurions of the imperial field army^). Some of them were posted to the imperial headquarters as domestici^); others were assigned to the border troops or served with the Pra; torianerpra; fekten. Even with further advancement, especially as primipilar, one remained in the class of protectors; asprofector ducenarius one reached general rank, became legionary pra; fect or dux^).

These protectors were a general staff at the disposal of the ruler. The officers who were entrusted with special tasks or positions of trust were drawn from it. The higher command posts now emerged from the protectors without exception. Their staff was transformed into a school, which every candidate for a military career had to have passed through.

The circle of senior officers, which was up of the protectors and formed the imperial entourage, was immediately assigned important tasks

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repra; sent the unity of the empire to the same extent as GalHenus's other shield, the imperial field army. Just as the latter, as the bearer of the central power, the border armies, so the rival commanders of the previous kind were replaced by an officer corps filled with a unified spirit. The rise of each

individual, right up to the imperial dignity, was determined by the strict order of rank. The circle of the highest officers in particular began to become aware of their duty the empire. Instead of a generality based on a struggle for the imperial guided by selfish interests, there was a subordination to the one who was unanimously recognized as the best.

It happened to Gallienus that the tool he had created turned against himself. He fell by the hand of Ver

Nemesianus and Apollinaris Pra; torianertribunes were (PIR.^ 1, 295 nr.l452; 319 nr. 1561), Julius Martialis on the other hand evocatus (cf. Th. Mommsen, Eph, epigr. 5, 142f.; Staatsr. 1^, 695; 3, 241 note 3; 1072; 1248); Herodian 4, 13, 1 gives him the rank of centurion (PIR.^ 2, 200 nr. 276). The author of the Caracallavita merely uses a title that was common in his time; cf. Th. Mommsen, Ephem. epigr. 5, 126.

^) A. V. Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des ro; m. Army 188.

2) See under p. 294 note 1.

^) A. V. Domaszewski, a. 0. 189f. 290

sworn members his closest staff. Aureolus, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry reserve, as such the most powerful man next to the emperor, had risen up in Milan and reached an agreement with Postumus, whose command had been entrusted to him^). This uprising arose from

personal ambition^), not responsibility; Aureolus is said to have risen up against GaUienus earlier^). As intolerable as the emperor may have become in his years, it was determined not go down the path of a new pra; tendent struggle under any circumstances. The staff in GaUienus' own army took matters into their own hands. The most outstanding officers in his entourage were privy to the plot : HeracHanus, the pra; torian pra; fect, Marcianus and Cecropius, the leader of the Dalmatian cavalry. An agreement had been reached on the elimination of the man who was seen as a disaster for the empire and the army. The step was taken out of a full sense of responsibility. HeracUanus, according to others Cecropius, is said to have the fatal blow with his own hand. Shortly after GalHenus, his opponent Aureolus was killed; the sentence was carried out by order of the soldiers. Then the army confirmed by its election the new man whom the officer corps proposed to it as ruler), and the judgment that had preceded it found its vindication in the of Claudius. His bravery had made him famous; he was therefore compared to Achilles. He succeeded in doing what Gallienus had failed to do. He defeated the most formidable enemy, the Goths, and thus took the first step towards restoring the empire.

Even as Aemilianus marched against Valerian, he met his downfall at the hands of his own soldiers. They judged that Aemilianus was not fit for the highest : he was more general than emperor^). But this remained an isolated incident, whereas it has been repeated since GaUienus' death. And now

- A. Alfo; ldi, Zeitschr. f. Numism. 37, 202 f.
- Zos. 1, 40, 1.
- On the criticism of the tradition, see Bolin, Die Chronol. d. gall. Kaiser (Bull, soc, lettr. Lund 1931/32) 50f.

*) Zos. 1, 41; cf. the consilium principum: SHA., v. Gall. 15,
2.) He himself had described himself as 'general' of the senate: Petr. Patr. in Dio ed. Boissev. III p. 742 nr. 158. 291

It was not the soldiers who decided, but the circle of the officers: the staff that Gallienus had created and to whose judgment he had fallen.
The new ruler was chosen by agreement between these authoritative bodies. Claudius is said to have recommended Aurelian as the first of the army to succeed him on his deathbed, bypassing his brother Quintillus. The officer corps followed his judgment, which was apparently also his own. From this circle, the newly appointed emperor received the advice to arm himself with iron and gold, to use the gold for his and the iron against the enemies of the empire. Quintillus, who was already recognized by some of the soldiers, is said to have voluntarily renounced his rights. He from his position, resigned from the political stage out of his own insight and chose death^).
It was agreed that only the best and most capable man should be appointed to lead the state. In contrast to the tumultuous uprisings caused the mass of soldiers, a counter-power had risen that was aware of its duties the empire.
After the death of Aurehan, the thing happened that the army - and that means: its high officers - renounced the right to appoint an emperor. The empire is said to have been left without a ruler for six months^) because this army was of the opinion that the senate should decide on the succession. Three times it is said to have made the request to the honorable

The company had to wait for the decision to be made.
This decision has been judged differently. The ancient sources see it as a revival of the authority of the Senate; modern historians have sought to the significance of the event. In any case, it was a break with Gallienus' decree, which removed all military powers from the senators. However, this did not require a fundamental break with the

- On the tradition E. Hohl, Klio 11, 202 f.
- In contrast: E. Hohl, op. cit. O. 284f.; H. D. M. Parker, l. c. O. 352f. n. 2; but H. Mattingly will prove that the coins speak this period.

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electoral procedure that had taken hold since Gallienus' death. It is precisely when one assumes that one was aware of one's responsibility, that one really wanted the restoration of imperial authority, that recourse to the Senate becomes . They were prepared to enlist the cooperation of any body with which they could do so with any prospect of success. So the officer corps put aside its own claims for this time and gave the Senate another chance. The man who was chosen was also aware of the gravity of the task. For a long time Tacitus tried to evade this choice; he reminded himself that there were more capable and more suitable men for the imperial throne than he. Only with reluctance did he accept.
The Senate failed the test imposed on it. It is said that the decree of GaUienus was fo; rmHch repealed, but that the senators were not prepared to take over military offices^).

Since they were only interested in their wealth in MuJ5e, they had given the soldiers and barbarians the

The way to rule was prepared then and for the following period - so it was judged. There are also no signs that the Senate had otherwise gained in importance; not even the senatorial was restored. Tacitus himself developed a vigorous , but the blunders of a relative, whom he had appointed governor of Syria, brought him ruin. Both were eliminated from the army in quick succession. Florianus, who tried to succeed him, met the same fate.

It is not known whether these judgments were carried out on the instructions of the staff officers, as was the case with GaUienus. In any case, the new emperor reverted to the election procedure that proved successful with Claudius and Aurelian. Tacitus already mentioned the name of Probus when he described the of emperor.

- This appears from Aur. Victor, Caes. 37, 5 f. The author says that the senate made no use of the of re-entering military life. U@ heexpresses no firm opinion as to the reasons which induced him to do so; he gives three possibilities - pleasure in inactivity, fear, and aversion to dissent.

his shoulders. Now the choice fell on this man.

It is vividly told how it proceeded, how the officer corps was able to assert its opinion. The tribunes, it is said, went around the army and sought to determine the individual divisions for election. Probus himself refused the purple; in his straightforward manner he said that he would not be a compliant emperor to his soldiers. When they on their choice, he changed his

Decision. "I have never this dignity," he is said to have said, "and I am reluctant to accept it. But the office, as detestable as it is to me, I must not refuse. I must the role to which the soldier has forced me." There it is said that emperorship is not a privilege, but a duty. Non rapinam arbitratus est , . . personal pleasure and personal welfare were deliberately placed behind the obligation.

EndHch Diocletian^). Before his elevation, he was commander of the protectors who were staying at the imperial headquarters. As such, he was emperor by decision of the dukes and tribunes, i.e. the highest ranks. It is the same process again.

Let us once again recall the starting point of this chapter. The adoptive system as the succession not of the blood heir but of the declared best had been replaced by natural succession with Commodus. The Severans and all emperor-oriented bloodlines had committed themselves to it. The ties of kinship seemed to be the most secure; they tried at all costs to secure the succession to the throne for the So; hnen. The predominance of Syrian women had increased the attachment to their own blood to a matriarchal consistency.

But the first emperor of Illyrian blood did not think otherwise. Decius designated the two so; hne of the Herennia Etruscilla, which in its name was the Etruscan blood and the da

- Aurelius. Victor, de Caes. 39, 1; SHA., v. Cari 13, 1; Zon. 12, 31. On the domestici see Th. Mommsen, Eph. epigr. 5, 130 f. and finally M. Durry, Les cohortes pretoriennes 37 note 4. 294

of inseparable matriarchal lifestyles, to Caesars^). It was the same with Valerian. But then was a turnaround. GaUienus had his

youngest son as his successor after the loss of the two older ones. At the hour of death, he himself broke this appointment. Struck by the sword of the Mo; rder, he sent the imperial insignia to Claudius and thus designated him as heir to the throne. This man had been GaUienus' constant companion since the unsuccessful war against Postumus. He was one of the conspirators . . . but the emperor's perspicacity recognized in him the only one capable of mastering the situation.

There was no lack of attempts to maintain the succession within the family. But another law prevailed. An ironclad time and a great goal allowed only the most senior to assert himself on the throne. This time no principle was formulated, no doctrine proclaimed or defended with reasons. The necessities of the mihta; rical and political situation created anew of their own accord what the adoptive system meant in essence. Without a legal statute, it regularly came about that the one who alone was capable taking on the difficult office of emperorship also held it. It was not until Diocletian's succession that what already existed in reality was transformed into a legally standardized institution.

The great Illyrian emperors not only wanted to be , they really were. They were in the reorganization, and they were in the new form of succession. The right of the best, this primordially masculine and at the same time primordially Roman conception - they helped it to regain its right. Not out of an instinct for imitation, but out of a realization of the deepest necessities of the time and out of their own political instincts. 1) H. Mattingly, Journ. Rome, stud. 1924, 12f. 295

TABLE DIRECTORY

Fig. 1 Runic rock inscription in the Gothic language. Himmelstalund, O@ stergo; tland. About 250 a. Zw. braado = brando, nom. sing, of a feminine o; nstem, to anord. Brandr, got. Brandila; cf. F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, Vom Ursprimg der Runen 81 f. To p. 78; 84; 95.

Fig. 2: Touton stone, Miltenberg a. M.

Germanic rune stone, reworked into a boundary stone in Roman times. Its unfinished inscription names the Teutones (Toutones), probably also the Cimbri and Ambrones. To p. 66.

Fig. 3: Tout onenstein, Miltenberg a. M.

Partial view. The P- rune (a-b-c-f-d) can be seen under the ro; mixed H, and the I (h

-c-f-g-i) the binderune kl (a-b- c-i-g-d-e). For details see F. Altheim and E. Trautmann, Vom Ursprung der Runen 78f. To p. 66.

Fig. 4 Bowl with Gothic runic inscription.

Poianabei Tecuci, Moldavia. 180-200 A.D. Above, the older fragment from 1927, below, combined with the one found in 1933. Municipal Museum, Tecuci, photos R. Vulpe and M. Dimitriu. To p. 81; 248.

Fig. 5 Sarmatian cataphracts.

Trajanssa;, Rome (Cichorius XXXI 76; Lehmann-Hartleben 17). Scaled armor and spangenhelm; probably roxolans (Cichorius 2, 150f.). Photo Arch. Institute Rome. To
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Fig. 6 Sarmatian cataphract.

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